KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal History of Christianity

Volume 7

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BOOKS

KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal history of Christianity

i 3. AND *4- JAH RHUNDERT

From Emperor Henry VI (t zpo)
to Emperor Ludwig IV the Bavarian († - 347s

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CONTENTS

I. KAi-i TEL: Emperor Henry VI { i i•-• * 71 and Pope Celestine III (i i qi q8) i

Henry VI enters Tusculum's end, a German-Vaticanjoint venture*7 Henry VI's first attempt on Sicily i 8 - Regie-arts - bribes and murder so- - By the grace of God ... possess-z6 Hereditary empire plan and German crusade z8- With mass core into the prince's grave 3d

2. K A rlTE L: Innocent III (i i q 8-i zi 6), the most powerful pope of history q3

Bribery and deceit as a craft d - Megalomania '7- "Recu- perations and nepotism q9 ' Innocent III. intervenes in Sicily yj The dispute over the throne between the Hohenstaufen dynasty and the Guelphs breaks out and is mediated by the Pope 8- The Tliron War begins Si- Innoznnz openly stands up for the Guelphs 65- The Pope, the clergy and the princes as the German civil war continues 68- Regicide in the ßambtrger Bischokpalast or Bishop Ekbert -at the height of his zcit- yj

3. **KAPITE L:** -The greatest epic -. Crossroads of all places. The Fourth Crusade (i soz-i zog). Crusades in Spain. The Children's Crusade (i z r z) 83

Garbage on a religious scent? 8 y - Prelude to Constantinople: the destruction of Christian Zadar 88 - Byzantine stories and the evening land q i- -... an indescribable murder" and a discreet historiography q y Relics and art treasures change hands s7- A hooker on the patriarchal throne, the outcry of Nicetas - and the whole thing - not even that bad (Jesuit Hcrtling) 9q- The short-lived Latin Empire and the long-lived -adriatic toad" ioz- Innocent III and the spiritual fruits of the Fourth Crusade io3 In Spain

en: Wars against - unbelievers - andGlüublge The Children's Crusade, which is not supposed to have been one i i i

4- CHAPTER L: The crusade against the Albigensi i y

The first medieval "heretics" are burned i i 8- The - novi haeretici- -the emergence of the Cathars t z-z Kstharic theology and Hierarchy r t6- The Albigensians - Burning at will and r a first crusade i j3 The -insidious, treacherous and deceitful *Rome- puts* on the mask of poverty i36 ' The persecution of the Mldensians Ito- The Pope invokes the -gort of vengeance- and orders -to slay the wolves- zty - The "cause of Christi- i o ' Slaughter and saticereif T6o

5. KxrITEL: Crusades against the Balts, Prussia, Stedinger7

Oscmission or -all slaves ... to be seized and hanged immediately. - The princes divided the money among themselves- i 6q ' The "Peace of God- comes to Livonia - -an imperishable glory- 73 Faßt sie, ReiBt them, beat them **to death!- 17-7** *ltPrussia or the right to take in me by conquest .... i 8j- PreuBenmission or -... killed them all- i 86 Gregory IX. plunges the Stedinger - into the pit of damnation- i q i

6 K ArITE L: Emperor Frederick II (I i qd-i z 5o) and Popes Innocent III" Honorius III, Gregory IX. *97

New edition of the Hohenstaufen policy iqq- The Pfaffcn Emperor arrives zoa- Money + seat = honor, but enough is not enough ao6 - The German throne is decided in France ao9 - The Fourth Lateranum {i zi 5) - against the Jews, against the -heretics- and for a new war zi z - The -gentle Honorius- and the beginning of the Fifth Crusade ti -5 Wit one was not annihilated thanks to an -infidel - Sultan zwo - Pope Honorius urges the Emperor to war zz6 - Gregory lX. {iazy-i z¢i J begins and the next crusade ay i- Pope Gregory invades the Rnich while the emperor is at a crusade z3 5- Gregory's double Game in the battle for Lombardy between-o Gregory IX. Friedrichs off and die‍t °4 3

7. KAPITE L: The Inquisitionbegins i

The Beginnings of the Papal Inquisition in Germany - Konrad von hlarburg zy 3- The dirtier, the holier ajq- lnquisition prisons,

Places of unthinkable horror i6 i- Practice Inquisitionis*4 Torture the most impressive instrument of Christian charity a66 ' - It is very beneficial for the Catholic cause if the Inquisition is abundantly owns funds - z6q

8th **KA PIThL:** Emperor Frederick II and Pope Innocent IV. >79

The flight to Lyon z8 i The Council of Lyon, the lies of the Cardinal5 and the deposition of the Emperor z8q- Two papal counter-kings in Germany and a new civil war i87 *arma - Frederick's 11th major defeat zq3- -... the "unacceptably aristocratic attitude" zq5 Attacks on the ttaiscr and immense papal jubilation over his death x96- -... and the cause of God" aqq

9. Kxn iTEL: End of the Staufen; rise of the Anjou 3oJ

King Louis the Saint - -Pattern of Catholic France 3 7' The Holy Warrior and two further Crusades 3oq - The Pastoral Revolt j i $- The Mongol Assault and the Mission of John of Plano Carpini3 i6- Pope Innocent bargains for a kingdom and dies z i - Pope Alexander lVi l- ^54"*^*- l tries to destroy the Hohenstaufen through England 3a6 -See how they love each other ...- 3°3 *Pope Urban V l - -* - **41 and Charles 1 of Anjou get down to business 3 j I - Charles the Savior is there j4 - A battle for the papacy ... j37 - ... and a **second** Gemerzel for the papacy together with Karle Siegcsbotschafr 3So

IO. KA P ITRL: The Habsburgs are coming 347

Rudolf vpn Habsburg overthrows the pope to -sweet-34s Nikolaus flf. und drr Nepotismus j3q ' The "most French" of the popes and the Siciliani-
sche Yesprr j yy - Pro domo - or sus Reichsgut mach Hausgur j 6 - Adolf of Nassau becomes king, deposed by God and murdered 366 - Albrecht 1st of Habsburg becomes king and murdered 368

11. KnPITh L: " .. . betrayed like the Savior". Pope Coelestine V. t i zqq) and Pope BonifäZ VIII ¡ **94**303) 3y

A -Engetic- Pope resigns i77 "The arrogant sinner" 3 yq- A quarter of all curial revenues given to his own family 38 z The Colonnescn War j85 Charles ll of Anjou and Pope ßonifaz lose Sicily 3q i- King Philip the Fair, -Holy Year - and Bull -Unam

aanctnm- jq6- The Acts of Anagni or -How the Redeemer Verra-

z z. Kxrm8 c: Christian murder of Jews in the Middle Ages 9o3

The Medieval Persecution of the Jews on the British Peninsula Tod- The Medieval Persecution of the Jews in France d°4 The Medieval Persecution of the Jews in England qz¢ - The Medieval Persecution of the Jews in Germany dz8- The Jewishness of Crowned Heads and the Nervus rerum 440

13th KnPlTEL: Henry VII, a Hanian king,

A French pope and the destruction of the T e m p l a r s 4‹9

A Messiah from Luxembourg45 - With Lanzwi and finances q5 y- The Teinpletptozeß, a monstrous Jostii crime by Paper and Könis 4**

4• KA PITEL: Emperor Ludwig N the Bavarian (around z a8I-I j471

in the battle with Pope John XXfl (i3341 47*

The financial genius of the Catholica ¢7 3 - The poverty dispute ¢y9 - Early con- frontations ¢8 i- The Battle of Mühldorf or -Her öheim, ich sach euch nye so gem- ¢8q- -Bci Gott, ihre Wut fioll meiner Wut .., bcgeg- nen!-‹ 7 <w€f Drittel des Kirchengeldes für den Krieg 8q- Rome - Entry and Ati<°8 4S* -.. and the retreat ¢q6 Ludwig's death or -Süeze künigin, unser frawe ... - ¢qB

ANHANG

Notes yo3- Secondary literature used J3z - Abkiirzunge• is• - Regi- ster 5 5-j Über den Antun57• - The literary work of Karlheinc Deschner s7s$_S$

i . CHAPTER

EMPEROR HEINRICH VI (i ISO-I 197) AND POPE COELESTIN III (i is Z-I *9)

-Never was he seen laughing. His character completely lacked the compelling charm and amiability of Barbarossa, his whole manner was dark and imperious, ultimately almost petrified, his politics far-reaching and world-embracing, yet dreamlessly brittle and hard. Hardness was the hallmark of his character, a granite hardness and a determination rarely f o u n d in a German, as well as a powerful will, an overpowering but ice-cold passion and an astonishing intelligence and political talent. All this makeshim appear strangely unyouthful, and it is easy to forget that Henry VI closed his orbit at the age of thirty-two.
Ernst H. Kantorowicz
about Emperor Henry VI'.

-Celestine sought alliances ... For tr never deceived himself about the impossibility of reconciling Henry's aims and the interests of the papacy, and just as he was determined to resist from the very first day, so he p e r s i s t e d in this until his death. Even the forced peace did not make him lose sight of his goal, so absolutely necessary did the struggle seem to him that no ally w a s too bad and no goal too reprehensible.
waz He did not even shy away from *taking* part in a conspiracy that believed it could achieve its goal by assassinating the emperor.
Albert Hauck
about Pope Coelestine III'.

Hxi x R I CH VI. TRIT ON

On x8. Novembef I I8Q, King William II of Sicily - devoted to the church despite his Muslim lifestyle - died unexpectedly in his palace in Palermo at the age of thirty-six. As his marriage to Joan, the young daughter of King Henry of England, remained childless, his aunt Constance of Altavilla, half-sister of Wilhelnis I and posthumously born daughter of King Roger 11 of Sicily, expressly designated by William as heir to the southern Italian Norman state, inherited the crown and kingdom by right.

The last legitimate descendant of the Hauteville dynasty (VI -**. **71 but way already two-and-three-year-old, *7 J -uar iz86 in Milan - where her bridal treasure i Jo dragged mules, d'< J' 40 ooo pounds of gold - was married to the nineteen-year-old German heir to the throne Henry VI. Since the ab-

After the accession of his father, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, in the summer of i i 8q, Henry took over the regency first temporarily and then, after his father's death in Saleph a year later (VI y6z), permanently without any formal act.

The history of the marriage is shrouded in mystery. The betrothal, negotiated in strict secrecy, led to a frontline alliance between Frederick Barbarossa and William II of Sicily and was thus clearly politically intended and a step o f great significance. Firstly, it consolidated peace with Sicily, which the two eastern and western empires h a d previously wanted to conquer together and divide up among themselves. Wilhelm's death, however, meant that, at least according to Heiniich's ideas

the regnum Sicîliae, founded and stabilized in the course of the lc. The reign was founded and stabilized in the course of the late sixteenth century.

Henry VI (i w---*97), one of the most prominent rulers of the The son and heir of Frederick Barbarossa and his second wife Beatrix of Burgundy, mother of ten Kiriders, was born in the Palatinate of Nijmegen in the fall of I i65. Bypassing his older, ailing brother Frederick, the three-year-old Henry was elected Roman king i n Bamberg in July I i6q, crowned in Aachen the following August and formally proclaimed Caesar on his marriage to Constance i n Milan in I i86.

In contrast to his father's appearance, whose favorite son he was nevertheless, Heinrich was of medium height, haggard, itn- soĺdatic, frequently ill, and prematurely aging. Even Gottfried von Víterbo, his spiritual tutor, a widely read historian who dedicated one of his works to him, called him unsightly. Without the cheerful ease of the Hohenstaufen, Henry was hard, domineering, withdrawn, but, like all Barbarossa's sons, excellently educated, highly intelligent and diligent, sharp-tongued, taciturn, with this, too, of course, in the Hohenstaufen manner, ice-cold and cruel, merely intent on making the empire even greater and more powerful than under his predecessors. But they were enough for him before he fell victim to dysentery at the age of 3 z to "press the world into the dust before his imperial throne - (Kantorowicz) - the Weĺt, after all, from Provence, the Dauphiné via Burgundy, Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, across Holland and Germany to Bohemia, Moravia and Poland. He made powerful incursions into the Mediterranean region¡ King Amal rich of Cyprus requested his land from him, as did King Leo II of Cilicia-Armenia. The Almohads of Africa sent him tributes, England paid homage to him as a teacher, the kingdom of Aragon and France lured his insatiable appetite, and Byzantium even more so. And when he died in Sicily, the advance detachments of his troops were already on their way to the east.

Henry VI was never exuberant, he was never seen laughing, much-

more - always tense with worry-, according to Nicetas Choniates, the Byzantine scribe; one of his most bitter opponents; "and always hostile to pleasure ... In his mind he thought of the Caesars Antony and Augustus, yearned for their empire and spoke almost like Alexander: this and that, everything is mine.- Henry could not enjoy, could only act, even if he knew how to wait and took even the worst insults like nothing; but then he took terrible revenge. The form of his chancellery letters was cool, concise, almost understated, the opposite of the bombastic curial style.

It is hardly surprising that the young prince, more a statesman than a man of war, as which he repeatedly failed (Fuhrmann), was as confident in the choice of his closest confidants as he was in the assessment of his own family members; that he drew congenial natures, men of similar character and equal talent, close to him - in their consistent, skillful exploitation of every advantage, even brutal in case of need - (Seltmann). It goes without saying that none of these noblemen sacrificed themselves al- truistically, that their own benefit was more important to each of them than that of the empire, and it is only right to do so

- although none of them left the ruler during his times of crisis in Germany.

i i8q, on the death of Wilhem II, the last Norman king, Henry was immediately determined to take over the extensive Norman inheritance and to fight for the old legal claim to the unification of 5üditałia and Sicily with the Roman Empire, the anti-quum ins imperii, by force if necessary. The Apulian barons did swear allegiance to Henry at an imperial diet in Troia and declared their support for him as the new ruler. However, Pope Clement III (VI 558 f., *566)* was suspicious of the shift in the focus of the Hohenstaufen interest to the south and the expansion of their policy in the Mediterranean region. For eg, who considered himself the supreme feudal lord of the Kingdom of Sicily, especially did not want a Hohenstaufen "unio regni ad imperium", a personal union between Sicily and the German Empire, as did many popes, and he did not like the Papal States from both sides.

and threatened in its political independence.
hen.

Thus, under his influence, an anti-Staufer national party, the Sicilian court nobility and the barons of the island raised an illegitimate grandson ROgßrS 11th (VI 4*7 f.) and half-brother of the deceased king to the throne, a man, at least for the Hohenstaufen sources, from a marriage of equal rights, Count Tankred of Lecce; and this despite the fact that he had just sworn an oath of allegiance to Constanze (incidentally, he had already once, i i6i, taken part in an attack on William I and been banished). However, the pope expressly released him and the Sicilian grandees from the oath and instructed Archbishop Walter of Palermo to proclaim Tankred king on January r8 iqo. The latter t h e n s k i l f u l l y prevented Henry from winning the Sicilian crown, especially by making concessions to the pope, the English king and a marriage alliance with the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos. Angelos.

But should Henry put up with this? Should he give up a land that almost all emperors of the Middle Ages had tried to gain and which now fell to him through Constance's dowry? Should he give up his right of succession, which was recognized by so many, and accept the provocative, divisive intervention of the Pope, who was almost the only one who did not see the German king as the rightful heir?

The war was inevitable.

Tankred, meanwhile, had consolidated his position in Sicily and allied himself with Richard the Lionheart in November i iqo - the treaty was sent to Clement III for confirmation. 8 In the early year x iq x, the Sicilians already took action against the Apulian barons on the mainland. At the same time, Henry, who moved to the
• magno exercitu- crossed the Brenner Pass and brought the Lombard cities to his side, to Rome, where Clement, Tankred's favorer, was to place the imperial crown on his head. But the pope was dying at the end of March, and his successor, the already eighty-five-year-old but tough and agile Coelestine, also an opponent of the Hohenstaufen Sinilia plans, immediately took over the throne.

more stubbornly to the curial policy of division, even if he initially avoided an open fight and delayed the final decision.

Tusxu mus END,
A GERMAN-VATI KANI 8 CH ES
GE u xi xscHAfTSWERK

Coelestine III (i iqi-i i q8), actually Giacinto (Hyacinthus} Bobone, came from a Roman noble family that then went by the name of Orsini, was mostly hostile to the Hohenstaufen dynasty and gained *power* and importance through its close ties *with* the Curia. Bri his election, the High Betagius - for a long time the only pontiff to spend his entire term of office in Rome - was first ordained a priest on April i 3 i i gi and the very next day, on Easter, he was ordained pope in St. Peter's Basilica. Just one day later, he reluctantly crowned Henry VI as emperor, who kissed his feet along with his wife and entourage and, of course, solemnly promised to uphold the "rights" of the Roman Church.

However, Coelestine had demanded the surrender of Tusculum as a coronation gift, so to speak. The hard-to-capture mountain nest, one of the oldest cities in Latium and known for its loyalist gains, had long been fought over by the Romans with almost manic hatred, almost unprecedented even in those guru-Christian times, and in the end was almost unable to withstand the combined attacks of the Pope and the Senate. It finally submitted to the protection of the approaching emperor. He generously granted the desperate city a German garrison, but then, eager to accommodate Coelestine, he did not hesitate for a moment to shamefully abandon Tusculum by shifting the responsibility to the pope.

But no sooner had the imperial garrison left than
The Romans attacked the defenseless place like true devils,

ãm *7- ril i iqi, perished forever. It was pillaged, the walls and towers were knocked down and everything was razed to the ground. No stone was left standing. All the inhabitants were agonizingly mutilated, reddened or chased away - a German-Vatican common work, a double betrayal by emperor and pope. Henry, encamped in the plain, saw the sky redden over the burning city and heard the death cries of its citizens hour after hour; their entire possessions and goods, as contractually agreed, were given to the Holy Father. - The church historian Cardinal Baronius (who almost became pope) calls the **depaÍl** of the hostile ericho- an act of divine justice, the warfare of the Romans quite mild!

HEIN R I CHS VI. FIRST R IN LAU F AU F Ñ I ZI LI EN

The greisc Coelestine had only reluctantly elevated the youthful Henry to emperor in St. Peter's and then supported the Rhenish-Welsh-English opposition throughout his seven-year pontificate. He saw his policy of recuperation, or rather expansion, endangered by that of the emperor, due to the threat of an unprecedented invasion of the Papal States from both Germany and Sicily.

Initially, the Pope sought to prevent the ruler's move to Sicily. He warned, forbade and even imposed an interdict on Monte Cassino Abbey, which was loyal to the emperor. Henry, however, was determined to seize his wife's inheritance. He set out, stormed some border towns and burned them, whereupon he was met with a frenzied response. Capua, who had just become king, immediately surrendered to the emperor again. The archbishop rushed to meet him at the border.

In May ixqi, Naples was besieged, olive trees and vineyards were torn down and devastated with fire and sword "all around" (Otro von St. Blasien), and the city was also destroyed from the seaside.

where Tankred's almost legendary admiral Margarita archi- pirata, the "King of the Sea", drove away the Pisan fleet of the emperor with7• galleys of the royal force.

In August, his troops caught a plague, a severe ryphus-like disease. Nine tenths of the army are said to have been left as corpses outside Naples. A number of princes were also carried off, including the Duke of Bohemia and Archbishop Philip of Cologne, who had gained great privileges and had gone ahead of the troops. The ruler himself was dangerously infected.

Henry the Lion's eldest son, Henry of Brunswick, had accompanied the army journey as a hostage with fifty knights, then escaped and even stood by the besieged Neapolitans for a short time before he was pursued by imperial henchmen and gladly returned to Germany. There, the Worlds planned a new anti-Staufer front, an uprising, the assassination of the monarch and a new election. They spread the rumor that the emperor had succumbed to the fever before Neapolis. Coelestine supported them and granted Henry the Lion the throne because of his "pious devotion" to the emperor.

on the popes and especially on him: on August 5, he granted the unheard-of privilege that no one could banish him or his sons except himself. The emperor, however, was burdened by ecclesiastical quarrels.

Arr and provoked a civil war in Germany.

Towards the end of August, after almost four months, Henry VI had broken off the siege of Naples, the entire campaign, and had himself carried in a litter to Capua, to Monte Cassirio. Half dead, h e arrived in northern Italy, where one bloody feud soon raged after another, the powerful noble cliques and cities fought each other, and on7- July 1191, the day of St. Apollonius,

Brescia's patron saint, with his name as a battle cry thousands of Creinonese were driven into the river Oglio, where they perished miserably, and many also took their own lives on the battlefield to escape this fate.

At the end of i i q i Henry was back in Germany. 5 His first attempt to conquer Sicily had failed and Empress Constantine, seeking healing in Salerno, the stronghold of Western medicine, had fallen into Tankred's hands. The king handed her over to

Pope Celestine the next year, and he now emerged from his re serve. He took off his mask, decisively changed fronts, solemnly enfeoffed Tankred with the kingdom of Sicily in the 5th century and concluded the advantageous Concordat of Gra- vina (June x z qz), in which the Sicilian lost many of the crown's prerogatives. The Pope abet; who definitively recognized the usurper as king, retained feudal sovereignty over southern Italy including Sicily and was able to extend his ecclesiastical sovereignty beyond the scope of the Treaty of Be- nevent (iz y6).

RzGI ERUN COSTS - BESTECH UN G EN UND MORD

Of course, Henry also ensured that his opponent's realm was worn down from afar through a series of smaller conflicts. This was part of the art of governing. Or, in other words, political flexibility. {When the Genoese dragged him into empty promises, he advised them to hold themselves harmless by waging war against the Aragonese. He also u r g e d Richard of England, whose vast mainland possessions from Normandy to the borders of Navarre were French leagues, to **wage** vigorous **war against** the French king, with whom he, the emperor, was bound by a treaty of guaranty and whose empire he himself at times intended to conquer, and assured him of his support).

Henry had stationed garrisons in various places in Italy, largely imperial territory, including the Italian islands. And **as soon as** Apulia was behind him, all the Germans in **Capua** were murdered as a result of treachery on the part of the **biurghers. There were** also larger encounters. Frequently, however, they simply went on forays, fighting over individual places and castles, which littered parts of Apulia. They often defended themselves fiercely, as they feared the Germans would plunder them. The clergy also intervened in the raids. Abbot Roffrid of Monte Cassino conquered several forts. When Monte Rodone surrendered due to a lack of water, the entire team was sent to the

Walls hanged, the castle ruined. In northern Italy, too, they crossed swords far and wide, and it was the emperor who fueled this. It was only when his new Apulian campaign was imminent that he ordered

*93 94 ing a ministerial Trushard von Kestenberg between the Lombard cities in order to be able to pass through the country undisturbed'.

The situation in Germany was also tense.

There were inheritance disputes between the princes and battles between Margrave Albert von Meifien, who had just escaped from Henry's Italian campaign, and his brother Dietrich, in which Albert not only took possession of the castle around ßurg, but also

3 OO marks of silver from the altar, which his deceased father had kept there. The result was the complete devastation of Bavaria, feuds between the worlds in Saxony, the terrible devastation of this country too, the uprising of the citizens in Brunswick and the destruction of Wolfenbüttel.

There were disputes with the church and hostilities between the clergy, such as the attempt by the ambitious Bishop Haldemar of Schleswig, a son of King Knudli, who was murdered in I y7, on the archiepiscopal see of Bremen. Bishop Eberhard of Merse- burg and the Abbot of Pegau quarrelled for years.

Of course, discord between the clergy, between the secular and religious clergy and between the monasteries themselves was an unusually common phenomenon that could be easily observed. They quarrelled about selling and exchanging, they fought, bloodlessly and bloodily, over lands, fields, forests, farms, tithes, borders, churches, abbeys and subsidies - in short, over money and power.

This began in the West from the Merovingians and Carolingians, for example in the long conflict between Saint-Denis and the monastery of Maroilles, and continued through the ages until the ioth century. The battle was waged with the worst weapons, with false epitaphs, fictitious lives of saints, falsified documents and dubious relics" {Wattenbach-Holtzmann). At times the bishops robbed

the monastery property and give it to relatives or vassals. The abbot of one monastery often sought to take control of another. And how long did even such famous abbeys as Citeaiix and Cluny fight with each other? In the Cistercian order, there were centuries of disputes between the parent house of Citeaux and the primary abbeys, with many convents falling into heavy debt despite steadily growing landholdings.

In the (mostly late) iz. In the 16th century, Abbot John of Colomba fought against the abbot of Castellione (Castione de' Marchesi), Abbot Gandulf of San Sisto (Piacenza) fought against the monastery of Brescello, the abbot and brothers of Nonantola fought against the abbot and brothers of San Benedetto di Polirone, Abbot Stephen and the convent of Chaise-Dieu fought against the Johannites. In the monastery of Michelsberg in Bamberg, two parties fight each other to the point of overthrow. During an attack by Riechenberg Monastery on Grauhof Monastery, its passages are destroyed, horses are chased away and the nobles are beaten half to death. The hostility between the serfs of the monasteries of Worms and Lorsch costs lives on both sides, as does the clash between the serfs of Fulda and Hersfeld.

There were also the infamous double elections of bishops here and there.

In Cambrai, for example, where the emperor, contrary to his promise, dropped his own candidate, Canon Hatcher, and appointed the local archdean, the nephew of the late chief shepherd• Johan- nes; he paid the monarch 3ooo marks
bribed. Or in Liège, where on z4 . November i i q z, after an ambivalent election in the year beforehet; the
Henry but rejected Bishop Albert of Louvain, son of Duke Gotrfried III of Louvain-Brabant, was killed at Rheims - treacherously by some of the king's "faithful" {Marbacher Annalen); i 6i 3 canonized.

Now this was not the first prelate murder. This had already happened relatively frequently in the past {IV zö 5 ff., VI 3 x y ff., esp.3 zz f., cf. also 3i6 ff. and others) and in the future, of course
again. Thus, perhaps out of analogous motives, exactly one

Decade later, Bishop Conrad 1st of Querfurt, Chancellor of Henry VI and King Philip of Swabia, I i § Imperial legate in Italy, Sicily, Apulia and i Iq7 Bishop of Würzburg at the emperor's request, murdered there izoa by his own ministerials (p. 7 f.).

King Philip, soon also stabbed to death (p. 75 ff.), is said to have participated in the

He must have been innocent of the bloody deed, however desirable it must have seemed to him. A similar story was told a decade earlier about the liquidation of Bishop Albert of Louvain, which was immediately blamed on the emperor. He had previously appointed Lothar von Hochstaden, an ardent supporter who had also paid him another 3,000 marks in silver for the post.

paid to enter as a bishop and against all odds forcibly

Henry also did nothing to punish the murderers; on the contrary, he tolerated them at his court and later gave them counties in Apulia. However, he publicly renounced any complicity in the crime, and Bishop Lothar von Hochstaden also swore the same and twice, in Liège as well as in Cologne, to the holy sacrament.

After the murder, the anti-Staufer opposition grew and, together with the Guelphs, a dangerous conspiracy of princes was formed, led by the Archbishop of Cologne, which was not only joined by Bishop Konrad of Mainz and the Dukes of Saxony, Zähringen and Bohemia, but also supported by Richard the Lionheart of England with aid money. Nothing less than the removal of the emperor was at stake. As early as spring x x93, the Pope threatened him with barn and interdict. "Whenever possible, he stood by Henry's opponents in Germany"

{Kelly}.

Of course, the German king fought against the imperial church as little as the church fought against him. Among the traditional recipients of Henry's charters in Germany, the clerical fnstimations, above all the large episcopal churches, or individual priests, are at the top by a wide margin" (Seltmann); red ecclesiastical recipients are only as opposed to secular ones, only about z 8 percent (possibly also partly due to the history of tradition). But

After all, it is a well-known fact that the shepherds were also more involved in the imperial military campaigns and were rewarded more as a result. For nothing was done in vain (cf. p. ao6 f.). Günter Gattermann even writes in his 5tudien zur Reichskriegsver- fassung der Stauferzeit that the history of imperial military campaigns to date had been "a history of spiritual princes in the service of the empire.'°

In the years i iqz/i iq3, Henry VI became increasingly hostile; his reign was increasingly endangered until the young prince was aided by a coincidence which he exploited to the full. He had met the English king Richard the Lionheart (VI 56z ff.), who had been consecrated during the winter of i iqo/i iqi in Sicily, where his sister Joan had been married to William 11 (p. i).3

fentlich as an enemy of the Reich, which he had to return from the Hei-

intercepted by the French. Behind this were mainly English-French differences, the rivalry and vindictiveness of King Philip Augustus, who had allied himself with Emperor Henry. And, of course, anecdotes and legends painted a picture of the adventurous escape and capture of the Briton, which was unintentionally and deliberately altered and distorted.

When Richard i iqz stranded near Aquileia, he escaped his captors several times while trying to cross Germany disguised as a simple pilgrim, but fell into the hands of Leopold V of Austria near Vienna at the end of December {while he is said to have cooked a chicken in the kitchen). The Englishman allegedly insulted him before Acre by tearing down the ducal banner and refusing a share of the booty. In spite of the obligatory free conduct for returning crusaders, Duke Leopold now imprisoned the king at Dürnstein, a high-altitude castle in the Wachau, and delivered him to Speyer on a3. March i ig3 in Speyer i n return for a considerable share of the ransom.

The emperor now not only had political leverage in the hand. He was also able, as a result of fortunate circumstances, to pay the ransom

- his collector Hubert Walter; Bishop of Salisbury, in the same year Archbishop of Canterbury, later also Chancellor and

became one of the most powerful lords in England - and Richard was able to increase his wealth enormously by i 3o ooo marks of silver; in all, by a sum equal to about double the annual income of the British crown, a figure equivalent to more than 3 ooo kg of silver. In addition, Henry nagged the man who had been imprisoned on the Trifels, the imperial castle in the southern Palatinate, to take the English kingdom as a fief from him in return for yooo pounds sterling a year.

Only after all payments had been made - Duke I-eopold received zo ooo marks of silver - and after paying homage as imperial vassal in Mainz was the Englishman released on February q. February i iqq released. Henry's threatening situation had improved and the anti-imperial opposition on the Lower Rhine and in Saxony had lost its most important foreign political partner as a result of Richard's long hah. A reconciliation was reached with the Guelphs. In March, the emperor met Henry the Lion in the **Palatinate of** Tilleda on the Kyffhäuser, who died the **next** year at the age of sixty-six. However, his eldest son Henry of Brunswick, once a hostage of the monarch, now married his niece Agnes, the daughter of the Hohenstaufen Count Palatine Conrad of the Rhine.

This put an end to the inner-German front for the time being, and Henry, in possession of a great deal of money through Richard of England, was now able to wage the new war he had been hoping for and eagerly preparing for years, especially as events favored him: the death of King Tankred on zo. February i xqq, after the heir to the throne, his eldest son Roger, had died a few weeks earlier, but the heir William III had been crowned king while still a minor, albeit with the Pope's approval. So he recommended

The emperor yielded to the prayers of his Christians and in M-i - 94', while masses were being held throughout the empire for a happy end to the war, he

In the course of the war, he once again set off for Sicily with a huge army, at his side Empress Constance, his brother Philip and now Guelph Prince Henry.

• THROUGH GOD'S GxA DE . .. WE OWNTHE
WHOLE COUNTRY AND
A PU LIA I N PEACE "

There was a lightning campaign, the Papal States were occupied, everywhere the
-army tax- was levied, any refuser punished. -The closer Henry came, the more submissive the Apulian nobility proved to be" (Toeche). The Count of Ariano not only dated his charters immediately after Henry VI's reign, but also boasted that h e owed everything good to the emperor, next to God. The Count of Alife quickly called himself 'by the grace of God and the Emperor'. In mid-September, Salerno was plundered because of Constance's capture, the property of the inhabitants; the church treasury, worth a total of zoo ooo ounces of gold, was looted, then the city, world-famous for its medical university, was burned, the local bishop Nicholas arrested, the citizens mostly massacred. He also destroyed all the cities of Campania and Apulia", at least according to the monk Otto von St. Blasien, the imperial chronicler of the early i3rd century. century. Most of the rest of the mainland surrendered voluntarily, so to speak.

Under the protection of the galleys of Genoa and Pisa - recently enemies, but pacified and won over for the new war by Markward of AnnweileG, the imperial pact - they crossed the Strait of Messina in late autumn. However, hostilities between Genoa and Pisa broke o u t again there for a few days, thirteen Pisan ships were stormed by the Genoese, the crews stabbed and thrown overboard. The island army was defeated in open battle near Catania; the Sicilian fleet surrendered, as did the court. The capital, hitherto loyal to the Normans, offered no resistance to the triumphant entry of the Germans on zo. November.

Five weeks later, at Christmas, the emperor had himself crowned in Pa- lermo, probably the most flourishing European city at the time. fiber- al Sicily was a rich land, the most beautiful kingdom in the West, not yet ruined by Spain. Full of wealth

riugtuung, the rex Siciliae attended mass for seven days with the crown on his head, hardly an expression of piety for him. And last but not least, he passed through the entire Norman state treasure, "inestimable amounts of money" (Otto von St. Blasien), but also the finest, most precious things from the royal palaces and pleasure palaces. One hundred and fifty pack animals hauled gold and silver from Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, bringing gems, works of art, the most expensive stones and fabrics, the most precious furniture made of pure gold across the Alps to the heavily fortified Trifels, which also housed the imperial insignia, where the almost unmeasurable booty was marveled at, while everything that had been looted earlier was considered insignificant, almost pathetic, and the ruler - who remained in Sicily until February i iqy and returned to Germany at the end of June - once again had enough money to finance further projects, especially wars. And all the more so as the entire Norman treasure was not even raised when King Roger's wealth was soon found behind a secret door.

Henry VI had achieved what the Pope wanted to prevent at all costs. The young emperor was at the peak of his power. He held the Papal States in his grip from the north and south and pushed back Rome's influence everywhere. Of course, he did not want to be rewarded by the Pope. He gave his knights land and amtei; made his wife Constanze, the Norman, regent, not without having her supervised by confidants, including the Duke of Spoleto, Conrad of Urslingen, the vicarius regni Siciliae. And apparently the new ruler also removed the tombs of Tankred and his son Roger from the royal tomb for lack of legitimacy.

Henry also put the last descendants of the Norman dynasty out of power and liquidated part of their aristocracy. Soon after the coronation, there was a conspiracy of nobility in Palermo, if the emperor had not only faked it, whereupon he had hundreds of Sicilian barons who had come to court, trusting in the amnesty, murdered or imprisoned and had Tankred's friends burned alive or blinded. In addition, the ruler took the opportunity to have Tankred's fa-

family, to whom he had initially offered generous terms of surrender, to Germany. He imprisoned Tankred's wife Sibilia and their three daughters in the Alsatian nunnery of Hohenbtirg, and his seven-year-old son William III, to whom he had promised the earldom of Lecce and the principality of Capua in exchange for his abdication of the throne, was deprived of his sight, emasculated and, after several years of captivity, left to die at the fortress of Hohenems i iq8.

-By the grace of God," Henry, "the great victor on land and sea", could now proclaim to the world, "we possess the entire kingdom of Sicily and Apulia in peace. And Konrad von Querfurr, Bishop of Hildesheim and Würzburg, the emperor's former enieheq wrote to a prelate in Hildesheim: -Now the powerful hand of God has extended the imperial rule so far that we recognized face to face what we only heard from dark words in school.

England, too, had become a fief of the Empire through Richard's capture, a vassal state subject to Henry's tribute. And France was also to become dependent to a certain extent. The emperor left no stone unturned to drive the English king to further wars against Philip II. And finally, the kings of Cyprus and Armenia, hitherto bound to Byzantium, also paid homage to him as their feudal lord.'-

C O M M U N I C A T I O N A N D ^ D EUTS CHER" CROSS22U G

Henry VI now wanted to secure the conquered possessions, the unification of the German Empire with the regnum Siciliae and the hereditary succession of his family, the Hohenstaufen dynasty, by means of an imperial reform, by transforming the elective emperorship - as in the western monarchies - into a hereditary monarchy. -A new and unheard-of decree", according to the "Marbach Annals", although the elevation of a son to co-king was neither new nor unheard of.

was heard; a project that Henry tried to push through at the court meetings in Main2 and Würzburg in the spring of I iq6. And, of course, this was how he was to be presented with Constanze's wedding on zS. December i iqq in the small town of Lesi (near Ancona), the son who would later become King Frederick II, was to succeed him on the throne in Sicily and the Roman Empire at the same time. {To demonstrate the pregnancy and legitimacy of the child born to the forty-two-year-old after almost ten years of marriage, Constance had herself delivered by him in a tent on the market square in front of everyone). For the re- gnum Siciliae, the succession of the emperor's son was already certain, Sicily was also recognized as a hereditary kingdom by the papacy through the Concordat of Benevento (i i yö) and the treaty was still valid. However, everything remained open in the empire, as the grandees could pass to the emperor's son by electing a king in the event of his death.

The German princes, who would have lost their influential right to vote through a constitutional amendment, through succession to the throne according to hereditary norms, only agreed by a majority at the Würzburg Court Diet in April i ig6 under threat. However, in return they received the concession of full hereditary rights to their imperial fiefdoms, including in the female line, as well as to the collateral lines themselves in the event of childlessness; Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia also immediately secured his daughter's right of succession and the monarch wanted to relinquish the right of spoliation to the prelates, the confiscation of the movable property of the {higher) clergy after their death.

Later, however, the lords recanted, with Henry subsequently failing due to the resistance of the Saxons, but especially due to the powerful Archbishop of Cologne, Adolf Count of Altena. From i xq3, he succeeded his uncle, Archbishop Bruno Iß. of Berg {as then - the well-known nepotism - he himself, Archbishop Adolf, was followed by Vetrer Engelberr von Berg}. As the leader of a small Lower Rhine minority, Adolf was immediately and fiercely opposed to Heirich's plan, even though no explicit position of the prince of the church has survived and it is disputed what determined his opposition more, Cologne's coronation privilege, his position as the king's elector and coronator to date or the preservation of the crown.

or regaining the princely right to vote. In any case, the Sraufer was conspicuously quick to *abandon* his attempt to turn it into a hereditary kingdom, which would have severely restricted the Curia's political leeway.

In general, much depended on the pope's attitude. As feudal lord of the regnum Siciliae, he insisted on granting the imperial dignity, and he was also to crown Henry's son Frederick, born in iqq, as hereditary king and future emperor. {The father probably only saw the child twice and very briefly: soon after his birth in Foligno and at the baptism, which took place late and without the papal presence, where he was given the name Frederick Roger, the name of his grandfather, whom he was to follow more closely than his parents). However, everything failed due to Henry's refusal to take Sicily as a fief from the Pope, who had been the feudal lord of the kings there since i i 3o.

Relations with Coelestine had deteriorated noticeably. In order to win the favor of the ruler, the emperor decided on a crusade and htm 3 I. March i r q y secretly took the cross himself. After the Third Crusade, Jerusalem, like the greater part of Palestine, was in Muslim hands, and a new holy war seemed necessary. However, the undertaking, which had been prepared with enormous care, was evidently entirely in the service of Henry's lofty plans for hegemony - -always the greater of the empire-, as it was called, admittedly fioscally, in all his letters -, his policy of world domination. It was intended to secure gateways in the eastern Mediterranean, continuing the old Norman lust for aggression, to create access routes in order to encroach on Byzantine and Muslim territory, in short, to establish a H o h e n s t a u f e n Mediterranean empire, which was almost a matter of course for the lord of Sicily.

Roger 11, who ruled from Tunis to Tripoli, had already

"Henry VI also thought of subjugating the North African coast and wrested tributes for Tunis and Tripoli from the Almohad caliph al-Mansur. Under the cloak of religion, however, it was easier to wage a war of aggression, easier to blackmail.

(from Alexios III Angelos, a weak heir to the throne, not only allegiance and ships, but x iq6 also a very high, albeit irregular, annual tribute of i 6 centners of gold, instead of the 5o centners originally demanded, the so-called Alamani- kon, the -German tax-, which was of course imposed on the people, even if Alexios himself took advantage of the crowned dead, the jewelry of the imperial tombs, which he broke open and robbed).

The old pope, who was rather embarrassed by the emperor's attempts at understanding, could hardly say no, especially when the emperor's plans to invade went against his grain, as he was increasingly caught up in the sh)epptau of Hohenstaufen politics. But even in the eyes of his ecclesiastically dominated contemporaries, his wohiver behavior was necessary, all the more so when the last war was lost and the situation was now favorable. Saladin had not been alive for a short time; diadochi battles raged, the heirs warred against each other, Coelestine had to accept the crusade offer, even if he did not say a word of thanks for it and certainly did not need the incorporation of Byzantium, as it would have made the Hohenstaufen even more powerful.

Henry, however, without c o n s u l t i n g the pope, without even informing him - he had only asked the cardinals to mediate - took the cross on Good Friday i iq at his court in Bari through the bishop of Sutri and then had the crusade announced in Germany, although he did not even think of taking part himself. And in the summer, Coelestine called for a holy war, which the emperor was to lead and finance from his own resources, and in the fall, he had his legals preach the cross in Germany, where things were already quite warlike.

Thus - -s4 the Archbishop of Mainz and the Thuringian Landgrave feuded against each other. In iq5, the citizens of Bremen and Count Adolf of Holstein fought against Archbishop Hartwig II. In I Z S, a very important war took place between Bishop Conrad of Strasbourg and Count Otto of Burgundy; the whole of ElsaB was devastated for four years because of it" (Marbach Annals). In the same year, Archbishop Adalbert III of Salzburg, son of the Bohemian King Wladislaw I and cousin of Barba-

rossas, a kind of trade war against Reichenhall, during which he burned down all the houses, salt works and churches, with the exception of the monastery of St. Zeno. He sought to secure his power over the town by means of a fortress built at the time, the Hallburg.

And weren't many a prelate already a problem in his own right? Henry U. of Chur, for example, who was sued by his own clerics for serious violations of the faith, for embezzlement of church property, perjury, human murder, bloody fornication and other abominations, all so evident that four cardinal legates had to confirm the disreputable reputation of the reverend Herm and Coelestine had to take the "useless building" to court.

The crusade, which took quite a long time to organize, was above all a German crusade, and is sometimes referred to as such. Archbishop Conrad of Mainz, in particular, who briodied the princes, acted tirelessly, as did the imperial chancellor Conrad, Bishop of Hildesheim, and, not to be forgotten, Cardinal John of Salemo, sent by the Pope, with his "crusade sermons" (Demandt). "New enthusiasm for the holy cause filled the German districts" (Knöpfle$ with imprimatur).

The emperor had made extensive preparations for the crusade, especially in southern Italy and Sicily, as he did not merely want to win the "Holy Land", but - an old goal of Norman Ostpolitik - the Byzantine Empire. He not only pushed the lavishly publicized cause for propaganda purposes, but also financed its most important mercenary contingent, wanting to maintain i 5oo armoured knights and i 5oo squires at his own expense in addition to the army of the cross. Coelestine put on a good face, sent cardinals and decreed general church prayers, at a time when Henry repeatedly expressed his urgent desire for understanding, lasting peace and a final condemnation.

And so, after pompous imperial conventions in Gelnhausen and Worms, in the summer**97 *iele again on their way to Jerusalemcm, they "eagerly followed Christ and crossed the sea; to come to the aid of the church overseas, and met

There are still many there from the earlier crusade" and fight the pagans daily with fire and sword ..." (Orto of St. Blasien).

There were several dukes of the right, dozens of counts, baronesses, an abundance of prelates, the bishops of Bremen, Halberstadt, Hil- desheim, Naumburg, Verden, Münster; of Toul, Regensburg, Passau, Prague, a number of abbots. Above all, however, the Archbishop of Mainz Konrad von Wittelsbach, the commander-in-chief of the company, which was militarily subordinate to the Imperial Marshal Heinrich von Kalden, politically and organizationally to the Imperial Chancellor Konrad von Querfurt, Bishop of Hildesheim, murdered five years later by his own people {p. yo f.).

In the meantime, the servant of God and the emperor traveled with a few household goods on board, with bowls and drinking vessels made of silver and gold for modest everyday use, estimated to be worth thousands of marks - although of course the other merchantmen also appreciated the comfort at sea and knew how to secure it {cf. p. vz 8 f.). But the Palatine had received further valuables from the emperor in order to be able to reward the bravest knights of Christ for their blood work in an appropriate earthly manner.

This, of course, and what they gathered, not a little, was by no means enough, as the "holy hunger for gold in the hearts of some Christians" was immense. So they also contributed from other sources of income, for example, as the monk of St. Blasien reports, they allowed themselves to be bribed by the "pagans" in the fight against the important castle of Tibnin near Tyre and also persuaded the chancellor, Bishop Konrad, who had distinguished himself in this area. But now, tormented by the
-saintly hunger for gold", the 8storage on February a r iq8
-in exchange for a very large weight of gold, which, as it turned out embarrassingly, was counterfeit, -colored with gold only on the surface.

The crusade, perhaps 6o ooo warriors and already decimated by the Sicilian August heat, had landed in Acre on xa. September in Acre. The harbor town, r xg i in the Third Crossing, with the gruesome slaughter of several thousands of prisoners, women and

children (VI 5 6y!), praised by the Christians, was taken again.

It was then the capital of the invaders, the residence of the Latin kings and patriarchs, the seat of four orders of knights and a trading center.

They thought they were already certain of victory. But apart from the capture of the completely destroyed Sidon and Beirut towards the end of October i i qy {both cities had already b e e n conquered once z x xo), the crusaders achieved almost nothing and everything became bogged down in internal strife. There were quarrels with the treuloun Pullans, the descendants of the Franks born in Palestine. During the siege of the mountain fortress of Toron near Tyre, the local "orthodox", the French, went over to the Muslims and stabbed the crusaders in the back, possibly already incited by anti-baptist papal propaganda. However, there were also quarrels with the knightly orders, the Christian potentates of Palestine and the crusaders themselves, and after the death of the emperor, the holy mobs soon disbanded and mostly fled ingloriously.'-.

wiTh Mrs SAKERN TO FH RsTEx csna

Henry VI's death, like that of so many of his predecessors, was completely unexpected. It befell him on his third journey to Italy, where he had lost a considerable part - 3s percent - of his independent
government, usually with some kind of military
German companies, with Germans making up the bulk of his troops.

The emperor, back in the south in July x xqö, sought further contacts with the Curia. However, Coelestine rejected the demand that his son be anointed king. He also resisted new offers and even left the ruler outside Rome in the fall for four weeks without opening the gates to him. In return for the fulfillment of his hereditary empire project (p. z8 ff.), Henry offered the pope and the dinals financial security, a permanent fixed income, a perpetual annuity and the best benefices in the realm. Not enough: he

wanted to take the emperorship as a fief from the Church, which Barbarossa, his father, had firmly rejected.

But Coelestine did not want to lose his secular weight through the embrace. The papacy in general would also have given up any influence on the German succession to the throne as a result of the succession plan. And any further renunciation of power was fatal to him. So he excommunicated Henry's supporters, brought complaints about delayed decisions and stalled him. Indeed, he even suggested rebellion to the bishops of the empire.

From Cyprus, where Coelestine s e n t legates in February, to Germany, he sought to undermine Henry's independence wherever he could and to stir up anti-imperial forces himself. There was ferment among the German princes as well as in Lombardy and especially among the Sicilian nobility. The pope was well informed about this and had never recognized the emperor's government on the island, but rather had persistently refused to make peace with him.

In the spring of *97 "Sicily was shaken by a great uprising of the barons. The hated German regiment, the -Sttirm aus Schwa- ben-, as Dante says, was to be eliminated, the emperor hunted down and all Germans in the kingdom murdered. -The pope was waiting for this as a rescue from his situation (Hauck). He was at any rate, everything speaks for it; informed. It was no coincidence that
He was repeatedly drawn into negotiations with the ruler and finally demanded that they be postponed. But even Constanze, the Sicilian, the "Gran Costanza", as she is called in the third song of the

• According to various sources, he seemed to be involved and in agreement, and had, in the meantime, become enemies with Henry and, according to some, fomented the conspiracy. The future king was to be the lord of the castle of Castro San Giovanni.

However, the plot was betrayed. The emperor narrowly escaped to Messina, which had surrendered to him; and with the help of two of his strongest supporters, Markward of Annweilet, the imperial trumpet, and the imperial marshal Heinrich von Kalden, he first defeated the superior enemy army at Catania, then the rest of the uprising in a few weeks with

with great cruelty. The particularly rebellious Bishop Paternos was captured, a large number of people were killed, the town was burned, including the church of St. Agatha, in which "many of both sexes" (Otto von St. Blasien) had tried to save themselves.

The emperor himself was particularly brutal - "hammer of the earth to crush the stiff-necked", as Abbot Joachim of Fiore from Calabria called him. Henry Vl's ability to deal with adversaries was demonstrated as recently as Christmas i iq6 at an imperial diet in Capua, when he sentenced Richard of Acerra, Tankred's brother-in-law. The count, one of his most dangerous enemies, had defended Naples against him and also captured the empress, for which Henry now returned the favor: -A RoB dragged the unfortunate man through the streets of Capua. Still alive, he was hanged, his head too low. To amuse his master, the emperor's jester tied a heavy stone to the dying man's tongue, and so the body remained on the gallows until Henry Vl's death."

Accordingly, the potentate had the Sicilian rebels killed. However, they first took revenge on their compatriots, the baronesses, who had been driven across the Alps as hostages¡ their eyes were gouged out, with the exception of clerics and the royal family. The opposing leaders, however, were executed, and everyone who was liquidated conventionally, by sword or hanging, got off lightly. Others were mutilated, sawn into pieces while still alive, crucified, sunk in the sea, impaled or doused with pitch and burned, and some even had their skin flayed off. The worst execution was witnessed by the empress herself, that of the leader, a Count Jordan, who was suspected of being her lover. The emperor had a red-hot crown nailed to his head on a glowing icy throne until he succumbed to his torment.

Otto von St. Blasien, author of a chronicle of great value {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche) and thoroughly friendly to the Hohenstaufen dynasty, writes of Henry: -He captured them all, put them in chains and killed them after inflicting selected punishments on them. For the arch-pirate Margarita, one of the most powerful barons of that country, and a certain, highly educated

He deprived Count Richard of his sight, and another, who was convicted of the crime of majesty, he deprived of his skin; another, who aspired to kingship, he ordered to be crowned and the crown to be fastened with iron nails through the tirnpora; some he had bound to a stake, surrounded with pyres, burned and cruelly extinguished; some he had pierced through the belly with a pestle and made to feel with earth " And

Here, too, the court jesters were still playing their tricks with the twitching bodies (Kantorowicz)."

Quite a few historians have a great deal of understanding for such executions and know how to categorize them.

The statesman and historian]ohannes von Müller (d. goq) calls the hardships of Henry VI ... The hardships of Henry VI were the custom of the people; it was only through such horrors that the wild nation, whose imagination was so flexible, could be fixed to calm and order". The

-Hardships" were a "folk custom" - in this time that has been praised by churchmen throughout the centuries? -Popular custom? And how and why and by whom could the whole nation have gone so wild?'*

In the late iq. For the historian and biographer of Henry VI, Theodor Toeche, in a text that reduces itself to absurdity, it is "undoubted that once the nobility h a d b e e n rendered harmless and the people had been put in a state of impotent terror, the empire was permanently subjugated. He only achieved this through that blood judgment. Contemporaries assert that he thereby put fear and trembling into the nations as far as across the sea. A violent time was used to being ruled by violent means. A conqueror as far-reaching as Henry VI could not consolidate his rule in any other way, least of all over the quarrelsome barons of the Norman Empire. They may have foreseen that after the conquest of the Orient the German yoke would weigh all the more heavily on them, and therefore tried to shake it off before the start of that venture. But for the same reason they now suffered all the harsher punishment, ln the course of pursuing his boldest and highest purposes, Henry had to secure possession of the Norman kingdom at all costs.

The execution of the rebels was therefore indispensable. Those punishments were therefore politically justified, and their intensification did the emperor no dishonor in the eyes of his contemporaries.

The contemporaries? At the end of the - century, the German historian Fuhrmann is still full of appreciation, even admiration for the emperor. Everything he says about the horrific Palcrmitan slaughter: -Heinrich VI took harsh action". Further: some things are -an atrocity tale-, but overall Henry's work is -impressive-. He broke - new ground-, created "new structures", showed "new perspectives through his imperial expansion". Unfortunately, all this remained "his early death was a catastrophe for German history". The modern historian's judgment is basically still like that of the monk Otto von St. Blasien, whom he quotes:

-His death should be eternally lamented by the German tribe and all the peoples of Ger- mania." And the non-Germans* non-Germanic people? Quite apart from the fact that the masses of Germans, the Germanic peoples, were also in a damned bad way under all their emperors and kings.'-.

Henry VI, indeed the medieval empire in general, stood at the pinnacle of his power, admired - and hated - by the world. Even then, many people were not dazzled. Troubadour Elias Cairel from the Périgord, for example, who, very keen on linguistic form, sang about his love, liked to criticize "the great lords".

While the ruler stayed behind in Sicily while awaiting his brother Philip, who had just married the Greek emperor's daughter Irene and was now to bring Frederick, the emperor's young son, to Germany for his coronation, the young monarch was seriously i l l in the brooding summer of July while hunting around the marshy valley of the Nisi, two days' journey from Messina; a new attack presumably of the same evil that struck him i i 9 i off Naples (pp. i8 f.) and also afflicted him again in i iq5, malaria and dysentery; but there was also talk of poison. After a brief recovery, Henry VI, only 3 i years old, died on

z8. September z i qy in Messina, died - after a good confession and with a contrite heart ... And the whole world was shocked by his death, since many evils and wars arose from it, which lasted for a long time afterwards- (Marbacher Annalen).

Which, of course, was no different before

Later, the ruler; your Holy Father was highly honored, in the cathedral of Palermo, which still holds his tomb, bestaWet
and since then the coffin had been opened twice, i4qi ttnd I7 8I, WHEREby Hein- rich at the second opening "presented a gruesome sight. "The body, except for the nasal bone, was completely preserved; there were still
The hair on his head, but his clothes were completely disintegrated; only one bony hand, placed on his chest, was still clasped in his glove, the other forearm had fallen off and lay at his head."'°

5ic transit gloria mundi.

5Immediately after the death of the Almighty, whose successor was a three-year-old child, whose -world domination- was still unfinished, it collapsed. Everything that he had held down immediately rose up; not least Archbishop Adolf I of Cologne, who initially opposed Frederick II's election as king, but agreed to it in August -*97 through his subsequent cure at Boppard, and after Henry VI's death (end of September) immediately reversed it and declared Frederick's elevation null and void. This keeps the lords
more than many things above water. And so from century•• J ahrhun- dert one change of position, one fall over after another - right up to the present day. (Just think of the extremely pathetic sweeping
the German bishops ig33 and iqqy! And then to their - if niöglich [but xs is on the same line] - even more miserable decades-long lie of resistance!")

As far as Pope Coelestiri was concerned, he perhaps even banned the dead ruler and forbade his burial. He had not always secretly disliked the Hohenstaufen. However, he mostly avoided direct actions against him, refrained from drastic measures and preferred delaying tactics. Indeed, he crowned him emperor and organized the massacre of Tusculum together with him (p. i7 f.). And even after the suppression

of the Sicilian rebels, aĺs Henry's power culrninated, he accommodated him and recognized the bishop Dietrich of Utrecht, whom he had invested.

But as soon as the emperor was dead, as soon as Italy had risen up against his regiment and the Germans in general, Coelestine openly rejoined the camp of the enemies of the empire, to which the Curia had prepared the ground in advance. 8o CoelesÓn now immediately seized -comprehensive imperial property and imperial rights in central Italy- (Stehkämper). "What were Duke Philip's perhaps already atoned for encroachments, for which he subsequently fell into exile, compared to the reprehensible violations of imperial rights that the Church now allowed itself!" (Winkelmann). For now the curial greed extended not only to possibly disputed territories, but also to significant imperial lands. During an uprising in the Margraviate of Ancona, stirred up by the Bishop of Fermo and the Abbot of Fada, Coeĺestiŋ announced to both how very dear this was to him, sent and appointed his own overseers and immediately pressed for papal rule in Gegenderi, where the Curia had no legal claims. He took a similar approach in Tuscany, probably also in the dukedom of Spoleto voc

But on 8]anuar i ig8 the pope also died.*

Germany, tormented by famine for two years, was then like a sea whipped by the Avon winds. "Every man," wrote Philip of Swabia a decade later, "lived without judge or law and did as he pleased.

One day before the emperor's death, Otto I, Count Palatine of Burgundy, a son of Frederick Barbarossa, defeated Count Ulrich von Pfirt (Ferrette) during an encounter by "cunning and deceit". The noble Hohenstaufen had already defeated and killed Count Amadeus of Mömpelgard (Montbéliard) one year earlier, the brother of the Bishop of Styria, during the battle of urn ElsaB against the *anti-stsulian Cr "éke* on the Upper Rhine. Now, at the monarch's death, some of the fighting cocks in Germany, such as the Stra0burg shepherd and Count Albert of Dagsburg, made peace, only to immediately join forces with others, with Bishop Lutold

of Basel, Duke Berthold of Zähringen and many counts to attack not only the Hohenstaufen Orto and his men, but also the emperor's men, and to devastate everything by fire and robbery" . Many places at that time fell victim to their violence, including the feudatories and estates of the dead ruler, who had no defender, "everywhere robbed of all their goods". It was the year in which a severe famine struck the Elsafi in particular, "so that one found people dying of hunger in rows in the fields and villages" (Marbacher Annalen). It was also the year in which a comet appeared, after which Pope Coelestine died and Pope Innocent III began his pontificate. However, while the German empire never regained the power it had enjoyed under Henry VI, the papacy took the lead over all imperial opponents and soon played the world-dominating role that Henry VI might have played had he not been swept away all too soon and had everything not collapsed like a house of cards - "the most serious political catastrophe in medieval German history" (Marbach Annals).

{'-}

z. CHAPTER

INNOCENCE III (i i9 8-i i *6 I*
THE MOST POWERFUL POPE
IN HISTORY

-... in the middle ground between God and man, less than God, more than man - Innocent III about himself'.

• Your mouth **is the** mouth of God, but your **works** are the **works of** the devil." - Curuf Ciovanni Capoccis, leader of the anti-papal faction in Rome, to Innocent III.

-... the most powerful of all popes°. -5cine views on the position of the papacy border on delusion ... In him God speaks and acts above all ... The Papmurn is, so to speak, the continued incarnation of God.- Walther von Loewenich'

-He knew only one commandment in politics, that of expediency, and he judged what was expedient as a man who saw through people and held them in very low esteem, he was not afraid to appeal to their bad instincts in order to make them subservient to him. He knew that unworthy people **held** ecclesiastical **offices**, but he tolerated them because their depravity was meant to enslave them. Hypocrisy and deception were not acceptable to him if they were in the service of his cause ... and in the end he did not even shy away from obvious lies." - Albert Hauck-

-The most glorious things could be expected from this navy; -His pontificate was the most brilliant ever known to history. Cardinal **Joseph** Hergenröther

S U P P O R T A N C E A N D A C C E S S I O N

Only three months after the death of Henry VI, on January 8, i ig8, the day Coelestine IU died, Lothar of Segni, 5proB of an old Lombard dynasty (and also related to the Roman aristocracy through his mother Claricia Scotta), was elected as the youngest cardinal to the papacy, whereby et; as usual, tearfully asked that he be spared this burden. He first h a d to be ordained priest and bishop before he was crowned on February - and became, says Ranke, the actual successor to Henry VI.

When the rich earl's son, small but handsome, was born as an Innozenz UI. {i iq8-izi 6) began to reign, he was only 37 years old - -owe der babest ist zu juric-, cried Germany's greatest lyric poet of the Middle Ages, Walther von der Vogelweide, who also calls Innozeriz a wolf instead of a shepherd, "hilf herre diner kristenheit-.

Lotario di Segni had first studied canon law in Bologna under the famous decretist Huguccio of Pisa, then theology in Paris under Pierre de Corbeill, who later appointed him bishop and archbishop. He himself was elevated to cardinal by his uncle Clement III i iqo. However, his successor Coelestine III did not promote him because of a family enmity. His abilities, however, made Innocent one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful of all popes, the -verus imperator- {Gerva- sius of Tilbuiy) of Christendom. He was indeed a born ruler, which admittedly implies questionable traits enough, but even more precarious is the activation of such talents as

The king of priests, in their commitment to a pseudo-religious, purely secular goal: the expansion of papal power, the further development of Gregory VII's theocratic delusions {Vl z5o ff.!), political world domination.

Innocent combined willpower with a stupendous eye for the realization of the possible and expedient. He made the most of every favorable opportunity and never allowed himself to be discouraged by an unfavorable one. His diligence, his tremendous ambition, his grasp for world power spared nothing that could serve him, that could further his cause. Opportunity and practicability were the top priority, religion and morality were secondary at best, and criminal creatures in the service of the church were certainly desirable if they were willing to be functionalized, to be bullied for his purposes.

He also did not shy away from hypocrisy, insincerity and obvious untruths. He repeatedly accused Philip of Swabia of wanting to snatch Sicily from his nephew Frederick, of which there can be no question. Also of Markward von Annweilei; the
"Enemy of God and the Church", he knew; also fictitious, allegedly certain that he wanted to make himself king there. Or he declared that Henry Vl, who had expressly refused to take Sicily as a fief from Coelestine, had allowed himself to be invested with the imperium by the latter.

Albert Hauck therefore did not say too much: for Innocent, untruths were part of the usual diplomatic tools o f the trade, he did not know the duty of truthfulness in his **political** actions: just as he imputed intentions to opponents that they did not harbor, so he gave assurances that he knew he could not give, he faked facts as he was allowed to, and finally did not shy away from outright lies. On the other hand, he severely punished the frauds of others, such as falsifying papal bulls.

During his time as cardinal, Lotario di Segni had written a number of theological treatises, including "De contempm mundi" (On the Contempt of the **World),** a widely circulated treatise that was available in well over $4^{\circ\circ}$ manuscripts and was widely read until the i 6th century.

publication - but as unoriginal as his other operas, which is why one could say that in the writings of Lothar of Segni, Innocent III. not to be found.

However, as much as the rather reclusive, inconspicuous young cardinal seemed to despise the world and deplore its miserable existence, he enjoyed it so much after his election as pope. It is true that he threw real treasures among the people during the coronation procession: -Gold and silver is not for me¡ But what I have I give to you." Chamberlains also had to bring money to the people, so much money that - despite the tribute of 5ooo pounds to be paid by every pontiff in the city - it was shamefully tantamount to a bribe, a - purchase price of dominion- (Gregorovius). Innocent could assess this all the better as he himself had a reputation for corruptibility. Of course, he rigorously condemned money-grubbing priests and often pointed to his own exemplary character, his unpretentious lifestyle.

Ergo, the author of "On the Contempt of the World" now allowed himself to be properly celebrated. In any case, it was in keeping with the tradition of pompous papal coronation celebrations - with the ringing of bells, cheering, the parade of banners and lance-bearers of the consuls, rectors, senators, land barons, bishops and abbots hardly coming to an end; where prelates, the highest ones, in turn, were allowed to kneel before the chosen one, all the officers of the palace were graciously allowed to kiss his feet, emperors or kings, as far as available, held the stirrups for him, at the coronation banquet also took up the first bowls before they modestly disappeared to the table of the cardinals and glory dined alone at the most precious table. Nothing but courage and renunciation.

GRÖ SS ENWAHN

Innocent III is also not content with the conventional title of his proceedings "Vicar of Peter", but is, as self-confident as he is arrogant, -Stattholder of Jesus Christ and Vicar of God

on earth. Hardly any other pope had so far put himself in the limelight, indulged in such self-absorbed notions of power, made the prelates his creatures, over whom he could rule and reign as he pleased, appointing or dismissing them as he saw fit. Hardly anyone determined the election of bishops in such a way, restricting electoral rights in favor of his own influence, which brought him not only ecclesiastical but also secular favors.

walr eixbrought.

Again and again, the third Innocent flaunts his power, his

• after divine institution- {ex institutione divina) almost unlimited power, his -fullness of power-, the -full power-, the plenitudo potestatis. Not enough. Although he is "less than God", he is "more than man" and does not hesitate to threaten that anyone who opposes him is making an enemy of God. Although the princes have their kingdoms, Peter surpasses them all in terms of content and scope of rule. Neither the right of a third party nor a general law could put him in his place.

Again and again he insists on the sublimity of the clergy over the kings, to the divine origin of the priesthood, the sinful origin of the princes. And of course he rises above everyone, he represents the highest power in the whole world, he may judge everyone, but no one may judge him. Which is why he so often claims both swords, boasting of his supremacy over the priesthood and kingship, over all of Christendom. Belongs to the Pope

- according to the Coristantine Donation - the entire Western world. Thus the princes and kings are also vassals of the pope, even the emperor is the pope's supreme vassal. For he, the pope, can give or take the reign of the emperor as he pleases, regardless of all the oaths he has sworn.

• Obey Gort more than humans".

When around x zoo the Byzantine Alexios III (p. gz ff.) claims that the imperial position dominates the priestly one, Innocent instructs him that the pope is above emperors and kings, and that he outshines the secular power like the sun outshines the moon. He also let King John of England know: -As in the ark of the covenant of the Lord the rod lay beside the tables of the law, so

in the bosom of the pope rests the power of destruction and the sweetness of grace. And again he boasts elsewhere: "But who am I, that I should sit exalted above kings and occupy the throne of glory? For it is said of me in the prophet: I have set you over the nations and kingdoms, so that you may proclaim and tear down, destroy and scatter, build and rebuild.

vr is placed as a mediator between God and people, under God* yet above man, less than God, but greater than man -

He, however, who raises himself to such dizzy and fraudulent heights, also declares emphatically that the man in Peter's chair is not a master, but a servant, is not there to rule, but to serve. And yet he already adds i ig8 imperial rights to the Church! Just as he was the first to make the Church an

"State-, an absolute monarchy- **macfit** - - ruthlessly and without shying away from the means" (Kantorowicz).'-.

-He himself was the final, supreme authority (suprema auctoriras)-, writes Bernard Guillemain. -He did not deny the secular rulers all (!} powers to the secular rulers.

right *to* intervene where spiritual matters were involved - and where they were not! Guillemain continues, usually with imprimatur: -So he specified the views of Gregory **VII,** for whom priestly responsibility included everything.

• **RECU PERATIO NS** ^ AND NEP **OTI** SMUS

The servant, who did not want to be a ruler, began his office by seizing power *in Rome, which had been independent* of *the* popes *for almost a* century, as quickly as he could. He bribed the people with money, whereupon they even renounced the right of free election to the Senate and Innocent replaced the justices appointed by the Senate with papal judges. He replaced the leading senator, Scottus Pa- parone, with a marin of his trust, who swore an oath of allegiance to him.

I had to assure him, "God help me and these holy gospels", to be faithful to his master, Pope Innocent, from now on. "I will not contribute to the loss of your life or body or to your deceitful imprisonment, neither by deed nor by counsel. What you entrust to me personally or through letters and messengers, I will not reveal to anyone to your detriment. I will prevent your disadvantage if I know the date; if I cannot, I will reveal it to you personally or through letters and safe messengers. To the best of my ability and knowledge, I will help you to preserve the Roman papacy and the regalia of St. Peter, which you possess, or to recover those which you do not possess, and I will defend what you have recovered against all the world."

How much mistrust - and how little trust in God - speaks from this text, in which the entire &sitz is now enumerated, from St. Peter's to the port of Ostia and the domain of Titskultim, "all rights in and out of the city". Innocent therefore did not hesitate to take back the urban parts of the Papal States, to replace the administrators of Rome there with papal rectors and to bind the barons of the Roman dukedom, previously supporters of the emperor, to himself through oaths of allegiance and fealty. Kutz, the Holy Father, as the leading exscnators Johann Capocci and Johann Pierleone Rainerii would have called him at the time, had robbed the city of all its sovereignty and "plucked it like a hawk plucks a chicken."

Worse still: Iniiozenz took advantage of the general confusion during the vacancy of the throne, exploiting the dispute between princes that broke out in Germany after Henry VI's unexpectedly early death and the desolate state of the imperial administration in Italy to quickly seize territories that had been granted to the popes by German rulers - mostly on the basis of the forged Donation of Constantine - but not actually transferred to them.

**<< 1* – 374 ff.! 43s ff.!).

In truth, the so-called recuperation, which supposedly restored the Kircbenstaac, really created it in the first place" {Hagen Keller). To this extent at least, it was an equally perfidious

as a gigantic fraud, a "conquest at the expense of the quai- sertum, - the theft of the country (Haller}. Innocent profited above all from the consternation of the imperial party and the Italians' rebellious xenophobia by acting as a provocateur, as a revolutionary, as their liberator, as their national power, and recommending to them the special paternal care of the pope, although not even the "liberators" believed in his patriotism. In reality, Innocentius only expelled the Germans in order to consolidate his power in the Papal States and expand it at the expense of the Italian imperial possessions, perhaps even in anticipation of an, albeit still distant, papal all-Italy.

In any case, he now ignored German rights that had never before been

had been *doubted.* He quickly and effortlessly seized Spoleto, a German feudal principality, and replaced the Swabian Conrad of Urslingen with Cardinal Gregory of Santa Maria in Aquiro, while Duke Conrad even had to leave Imperial Italy.

The papal troops subjugated the Margraviate of Ancona, also a German fiefdom, whereby Innocent Deti fiercely defended himself by placing Markward of Annweiler in the barn and transferring the affairs of government there to a cardinal. And finally, the militant high priest also gave a recently lost border strip in the north, in Tuscany, as well as, on the southern border of the Papal States, the county of Sora to his brother, Count Riccardo Conti, even if this not unimportant region only later became the full property of the Curia (p. y8).'- The Holy Fathers usually took touching care of their relatives, an exemplary tradition that extended into the eighth century, even when the church doesn't like to see them stirred.

Just as his predecessor Coelestine, for example, had endowed his nephews with ecclesiastical goodness, Innocent, under whom the Curia grew into a financial power that soon outstripped all competition, pursued a very forced clan policy, whereby a Coelestine nephew was murdered in a feud with relatives of Innocent (on his mother's side): an old family quarrel, or so says Cardinal Hergenröther discreetly,

-aversion to the family". For this reason, Clement III,

his uncle, had already been made a cardinal, but was kept at a distance by his predecessor in office.

Nepotism, however, remained the trump card. Thus the Holy Father visibly increased the wealth and influence of his own, the great family of the Conti, from which three successors of the poor Son of Man made the world happy (Gregory IX, Alexander IVi and Innocent XIII), Alexander IVi and Innocent XIII), as well as many cardinals and curials, including a beatified Fraiiziscan These popes caused the Conti possessions in and around Rome to grow more and more; the nepotic houses flourished.

Innozeriz m., who, certainly inspired by the Holy Spirit, bestowed lands and the highest dignities on his clan, granted commissions - there is evidence of six papal relatives alone -, enriched his cousin Jacob, the Venerian John, and unscrupulously granted church claims in order to unite another nepotism with an emperor's daughter.

He granted his brother Riccardo nine castles and Valmontone in the borderlands of Sabina and Latium6 and, not without strategic intentions, built him a veritable nepotism paradise on the other side of the Liri, an immense inheritance, of course at the expense of Frederick II. Although the Conti were initially still church fiefs, they soon received these estates in full and owned them for 6oo years, until their death in 8o8. And all this and more through Innocent, the "father of the poor" (Cardinal Hergenröther).

Riccardo also used his papal brother's funds to build the mighty tower in Rome (where a remnant of the "Torre dei Conti" still stands today), which was then stormed by the people and declared municipal property. Years of feuds followed, punitive battles, a constitutional war, with towers and counter-towers springing up overnight, churches entrenched and turned into fortresses, pa- pal mobs f i g h t i n g with democrats. InnpZenz fled i ao3, returned the next year, the battle continued, eventually his money won, including that of the Conti, and the Roman commune lost one of its great rights after another: Election of the pope, election of the quay, election of the senate.'*

However, God's representative was not able to draw everything to himself.

hen. He gained Romagna, where one of his nephews was killed in Forli, through the stubborn resistance of Archbishop William of Ravenna, to whom Innocent could make no legal claim. In Tuscany, too, he lost the Matildic estates {VI *z69 H), which had been* disputed between emperors and popes for so long, as they had now mostly been taken by the larger municipalities of the Tuscan League, Florence, Siena, Lucca, Volterra, Arezzo, and the popes and the Church had lost them forever.

On the other hand, to look briefly ahead, under the pressure of circumstances both Otto IV of Guelph i iq8 and rzoz, through the charters of Neuss and Speyer i zoq, and Frederick the Hohenstaufen, through the gold bull of Eger rzi 3 (p. zo8}, agreed to the papal recuperation. By his death, however, Innocent lfl had more than doubled the size of the Papal States, had extended them from sea to sea, from the Tyrrhenian to the Adriatic and into the Po Valley, had completely separated Imperial Italy from the Kingdom of Sicily and had given the State of St. Peter a form that remained unchanged almost until the threshold of the zo. Century remained unchanged - based on a giant forgery.'-

INN O ZENZ UI, INTERVENES ON II Z1LI EN

After the emperor's death, many eyes turned to his brother Philip of Swabia, Frederick Bafbarossa's youngest son. Appointed cleric by Henry VI at the age of fourteen by his father, he was nevertheless called back to the laity three years later and summoned to the imperial court. Involved in the conquest of Sicily in i99, the frater imperatoris was rewarded with the Duchy of Tuscia and the Matildic estates the following year. And since his brother, Duke Frederick V of Swabia, had already succumbed to an epidemic xiqi before Acre, his brother Conrad, Duke of Rotenburg, died during a campaign in August i iqö due to a rape.

After his assassination, Philip now also received the Duchy of Swabia.

In September i -s7 he was to bring Henry's son Frederick (II) from Foligno near Assisi, who was not yet three years old but had already been elected Roman king by the princes i i q 6 in Frankfurt. to Aachen for the royal coronation. However, shortly before reaching their destination near Montefiascone, he and his$_Z$ oo Swabian knights received the news of the emperor's death. Italy immediately rose up in revolt. Revolts fomented by the popes also broke out. In addition, Coelestine now publicly banned the duke in St. Petey's, mainly because of earlier attacks on the Papal States. Philip narrowly escaped, not without losses, and returned without having achieved anything."

The young Frederick {II) abet; who lived in the care of the Duchess of Spoleto and her husband Conrad of Urslingen, one of the most loyal imperial vassals in Italy, was soon brought to the Palermitan court by his mother. As the daughter of Roger II, Constance had spent her youth in Palermo, disliked the Germans and felt less like an empress than a Norman. She consciously continued the traditions of her tribal predecessors, the -reges felices-, the

-The king was crowned king of Sicily in Palermo on Pentecost i iq8, thereby losing the title erex Romanorum", which he had held since the end of i iq6, "under pressure from lnno- cenz III" {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche).

While the predicate disappeared from the royal documents, the inscription on Frederick's early seal remained, of course. Century on every southern Italian crucifix: -Christ is victor! Christian is King! Christian is Emperor!"- Pope and Empress harmonized not only in their antipathy towards all things Teutonic, but also in their intention to both secure Frederick's possession of Sicily and to limit it. For nothing was more fatal to Innocent than a new clutching of his 5state through the unification of empire and kingdom.

The Germans, unpopular because of their intemperance and ruthlessness, but above all because of their hard line, were

Constanze was even accused, wrongly of course, of having poisoned the emperor and of being involved in the conspiracy against him, although this has not been proven. However, the expulsion of the Germans, now her most dangerous opponents, left her completely at the Pope's mercy and, despite long and hard negotiations, she was unable to achieve anything against him despite her vehement resistance, and this despite the fact that the Sicilian kings had "never conceded" (Pfaff) that the Pope would intervene in settling the question of succession upon the death of the ruler of the Curia.

Although Innocent enfeoffed Constance and her son with Sicily, he did so by renouncing the German crown, the German royal title, an option on the empire and many of the Sicilian monarch's extraordinary ecclesiastical privileges. The high clergy had always valued dealings with underage heirs to the throne or regents; the youngerq dependentq the more important for them (cf. e.g. V 34d) .

The Pope thus increased his influence on the island considerably. of course. He provided assistance, apparently selflessly but entirely in his own interests and paid dearly for it. For a {fragmentally preserved) will appoints Innocent as guardian of Constance's son as well as administrator of the realm with an annual pension - in addition to reimbursement of all expenses! - of 3 ooo tarenes (gold coins). Even the Emperor Henry is said to have
He recognized the supreme regiment over Sicily and thus actually destroyed his own life's work, admittedly in the papiec, which was only h a n d e d d o w n and used by the Curia in extracts, which is also partly heavily falsified and therefore considered usable {Walter Zöllner}. -The falsifications of the apparently genuine foundation of the will did not have to originate from one side. The Curia alone had the full advantage of all the provisions, even if some of them were only theoretical. At least from the parts that it published in its own way. It is understandable that it left aside the opposing ones" (Pfaff). One must always remember that the Catholic Middle Ages were an Edorado of clerical forgers; that for centuries

forged almost as much as it did not forge (IV 3q3 ff.! V i 8 i ff.!) and these forgeries, according to Ferdinand Güterbock, an expert on the Hohenstaufen period, "were made in good faith by the most pious and learned men of the time.'*.

After Constance's death on z8. November i iq8, the pope immediately seized control of the island through a regency council consisting of the most senior bishops and a cardinal legate. He was now de facto master of the entire regnum. However, he soon came into conflict with two former confidants of Henry VI, Walter of Pagliara, Bishop of Troia, who had been made chancellor of the kingdom, and Markward of Annweiler, who was also highly favored by the emperor and enfeoffed with the duchies of Ravenna, Romagna, the Margraviate of Ancona and two counties. C o n s t a n t i n e had Walter of Pagliara, the emperor's partisan and thus enemy of the old Norman dynasty, temporarily imprisoned. However, the prelate cared little for either the old or the new ruling dynasty. Rather, he was only concerned w i t h his own interests, the preservation of his leading position, which allowed him to squander the royal property generously in his and his family's favor - and still died (around i z jo) poor in Rome.

Markward, the leader of the Germans, aspired to power in Sicily as governor of the empire and therefore competed with Chancellor Walter, who had been expelled from the royal castle of Palermo for years. After all, Constance had also had the ambitious Markward, who was widely rumored by the popes to be seeking the life of Frederick II, expelled from the country. In October i i qq, however, he landed at Trapani and, although banned by the pope along with his followers, gradually began to conquer almost the entire island together with Pisans and hordes of Muslims. Innocent therefore ordered an army to Sicily under the command of the cardinal legate Cinthius and his own cousin, Marshal Jacob. Initially, the army fought successfully and with much booty. However, they soon ran out of money and, weakened by illness, crossed the sea again in the fall of xaoo, whereupon Markward seized Palermo in November xzoi."

In the same year, however, Bishop Walter and the German, to whom he finally left Sicily, came to an agreement, while eq, excommunicated by Innocent and stripped of all dignities, organized the struggle on the mainland until Markward, already almost an island hero, succumbed to dysentery in mid-September xzoz and the pope, to whom the bishop now went over, burst into cheers. At last he regained control of Sicily, of whose inhabitants, Apulians, *Sornzeians,* Germans, French, Pisans, Genoese, he admittedly thought nothing of. For since they, ep wrote, "were feminized by laziness, unruly by too long a peace (1) and indulged in the pleasures of the I-ibes too freely with their wealth, their stench rose to heaven and the multitude of their sins delivered them into the hands of the persecutors".

In the interior of the island, the 5aracens went on the rampage and robbed everything up to the city walls. The Sicilian barons plundered the real estate of the defenseless young king, who was sometimes in high command. Genoa and Pisa, who were particularly hostile at the time, took hold of each other, battling ship against ship as well as on land, in Syracuse, Messina and Palermo.

Atich in the mainland part of the kingdom, fighting intensifies.

It was above all the leader of the popes, the French Count Walther (Gautier) of Brienne, who operated here, sworn to by Innocent, against the German capitans, especially against Diepold von Schweinspeunt. As the son-in-law of Tankred, the illegitimate last Norman king, the Frenchman claimed the earldoms of Lecce and Taient with the approval of the pope, who confirmed his rights to them. Incidentally, this shows that Innocent was quite indifferent as to whether an agnate of the Norman dynasty ruled Sicily or a Hohenstaufen; his mouth was Frederick II, even if he saved him the kingdom through his regency. *In the* summer, however, the papal partisan Walter von Brienne was captured by Diepold and succumbed to his wounds.

Diepold von Schweinspeunt, who had risen from a ministerial family to become the successor to the Count of Acerra, Tankred's brother-in-law, was a member of Frederick's minor nobility at the time of the crisis.

and war-torn Campagna, despite all the setbacks, he was the boldest fighter against the curial forces, even if et; a warrior who, in the end, was almost indifferent to whom he struck, then went over to the pope until i zlO Otro fV. proclaimed him Duke of Spolero and he fought the pope again.

And during all this, the then seven-, eight-, nine-year-old future German Emperor Frederick II is said to have occasionally hidden from his henchmen in the royal castle or, completely unattended, roamed Palermo's semi-African quarters like a gas boy, fed by compassionate citizens, sometimes for eight days, sometimes for a month - the whole regnum, still the richest in Europe, was ruined. The Holy Father, however, did not hesitate to make the young Frederick pay dearly for his regency through the now final cession of the Grafschah Sora to the ecclesiastical state (S. yi J.'-

ThE THRO NSTREAT BETWEEN THI SCHEETi STAUFF ANd DE LFEN BRIGHT OUT ANd S H IRED BY THE POPE

In Germany, meanwhile, there were major, bloody conflicts - as a result of the guilt of sin - as lnnozenz knew, throne battles, in which he was also closely involved, and which he was supposedly involved in.

-to be affected- (vehementius doleamus), in reality -inflamed to the highest passion- (Deinandt). "His first aim was to foment the feuds in Germany ... - (Ko- minski/5kaskin).

Duke Philip of Swabia in particular - blond-haired, amiable, as they say, tender and very unlike his tough brother Henry in many respects - was now trying to secure the underage nephew's succession to the throne. Some princes were in the Orient, but once again swore allegiance to the chosen son of the emperor and informed the Archbishop of Cologne, Adolf I of A)tena, of this. But this one of the Staufi

The king, who wanted to prevent the Hohenstaufen rulers at all costs, declared Frederick II's elevation null and void due to his lack of baptism and immaturity and, supported by the purchased Episcopus of the Lower Rhine, a small group of princes and the English king Richard the Lionheart, attempted to deprive the Hohenstaufen of the crown.

In the face of such obstruction and the unattainable emperorship of the "boy of Apulia" in the far south, the emperor's brother, the young Philip of Swabia {i ip8-izo8), one of the most powerful and richest in the land (who is said to have bequeathed his daughters three castles as well as many estates and treasures) and husband of the Byzantine emperor's daughter Irene, gave up his nephew's candidacy. Urged on by his supporters, Philip was elected king on March 8, riq8 in Mühlhausen in Thuringia by the majority of the German electoral princes, mostly East German Hohenstaufen rulers. Archbishop Ludolf of Magdeburg was the first to vote for him. And soon almost the entire east, the south, "the whole kingdom of the empire", said Arnold von Lübeck.

Naturally, the anti-Staufer opposition around the monarch of Cologne, who, in addition to his bishopric teams, also had a host of Westphalian and Lower Lorraine counts and knights at his disposal, was also on the lookout for a candidate for the throne. However, some were still on a crusade. Others r e f u s e d , including Duke Bert-

hold V of Zähringen, because - after he had already anointed his electors with 6ooo marks of silver - he was still supposed to pay the Cologne and Trier Metropolitan -7ooomarks of silver, but now -did not want to buy the king's duke (Marbacher Annalen). He joined Philip, whose contributions at least reimbursed his expenses; important for the rich but stingy duke. And Archbishop John I of Trieb, previously Barbarossa's and Henry VI's court chancellor, had been bribed with 8,000 marks by a brother in office in Cologne.

Incidentally, politics, especially the election of a king, was already being organized in those days not only through the transfer of imperial goods and rights, but also through money, -through the suspension of ever increasing

of the sums of money - {Reisinger) and decided. The Pope was aware of the venality of the shepherd of Cologne, deplored it - and recommended the same method for his part. He repeatedly encouraged Otto IV to win over the princes through generosity, with promises not to be stingy with privileges. For what noble lord worthy of all honor was not corruptible!

In the case of the king of Cologne, everything points very decisively to the fact that consideration for personal gain and monetary profit motivated him to pursue a new royal election, even at the risk of igniting civil war in Germany (Winkelmann). However, this was precisely what the opposition gathered around him wanted; and John of Trier could only be won over to the candidate of his Cologne colleague because the latter pledged the Cologne cathedral treasury to him. For a sum that the future king was probably *supposed to* pay. But already at the Imperial Diet of Mainz zxq8, the Trier changed his allegiance to Philip; then, under pressure from the pope, he again approached Otto, until zzoz his triereq the citizens, the servants, the clergy, again came to an understanding with Philip and he had to follow, whereupon he was hit by the pope's great excommunication. Eduard Wifikelmann, biographer of the royal subsidiary bishop, assumes that Archbishop John submitted to the pope again at the end of izo3, but later returned to the victorious Philip.

Finally, the Cologne party took into account the wish of a requested Hohenstaufen opponent, Richard I the Lionheart, to give the crown to a member of the Guelph dynasty, which was closely associated with him, for which he paid the Cologne prince of the church the apparently decisive money, which was also supported by his c i t i z e n s who were interested in trade with England.

The big names from the Lower Rhine and Westphalia thus chose -after invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit-, as Otro's election notice to the pope reports, on June q. June i iq8 in Cologne the Saxon Otto of Brunswick, Count of Poitou, the third son of Henry the Lion and his wife Mathilde, the sister of the King of England, who had grown up at the English court. Spiritually probably

hardly quite as impecunious as the Staufer-minded historiography makes him superbus et stulrus, sed fortis": Bur- chard von Ursberg}, but certainly high-riding and swashbuckling, Otto was in many ways similar to his sonless uncle, who supported him in every way, not least with English gold. And one month after the election, on Iz. July, Adolf of Cologne, the real kingmaker, crowned him in Aachen - with ornamental solemnity - and thus conjured up "a misfortune for Germany with lasting historical consequences" (Stehkämper).

It was worth it for Archbishop Heilich. He received extensive grants from Otto IV (Iss-ITU), was not only confirmed the possession of the Wesdalian dukedom (ducanis Wesdaliae et Angariae), not only with other bishops, but also the right of spolia, the royal right of succession, the personal property of a prelate on his death. He also received the coinage and customs privileges, as well as Kaiserswerth Castle and Bernstein Castle for destruction - and joined the Hohenstaufen party

Now Otto had been crowned in the right place and by the right crowning ruler, but with the imitation imperial insignia; Philip on September 8 with the real ones, but in the wrong place, in Mainz, and by Archbishop Aimon of Tarentaise from Burgundy, who happened to be present, albeit with the permission of the Mainz chapter. Thus, writes Otto of St. Blasien, both kings fought sufficiently for the first place and f o u g h t incessantly in civil war for almost iz years. The most frequent theaters of war were Saxony, Thuringia and the Rhineland."

DRR **TH RONKRI** EC **BEG IN NT**

Campaign after campaign followed, advance after retreat, devastation after devastation and one change of front by the princes after another. It was not honor, but money that tipped the scales, mainly floB from abroad. In principle, this was already the case before, the

The nobility had always received gifts and rewards for their bloody service. But it is only now, in the dispute between Philip and Otto over the throne, that military succession is made dependent on monetary payments, promises, privileges, etc. (Gattermann).

The war began in the summer of - 9 , after the poorest - that is to say, to keep repeating: the great masses, the so-called people, that's almost everyone - had often lived on sausages for a year and the bodies of starving people lined the roads. The misery was also rampant in France, England and Denmark, but most of all in Germany - the country was one big field of corpses right down to the sea (Winkelmann).

In the ElsaB in particular there was -a severe famine ..., so that in some cases rows of people died of hunger in the fields and villages" {Marbacher Annalen). And then King Philip, the "young sweet man" (Walther von der Vogelweide), invaded the area to help two lords involved in the dispute over the throne and Hohenstaufen territorial politics, the Bishop of Strafiburg and the Count of Dagsburg {Franc. Dabo}, owner of eleven castles and at least nine monasteries, to pay them back for their spring attack - "he spoiled all the grain during the harvest, conquered and burned Molsheim and only accepted the surrender of the churchyard; he captured the garrison of Haldenburg, destroyed the churchyard of Epfach and devastated all the feudatories of the Bishop of Strasbourg and the Count of Dagsburg, who had given their consent to King Otto, and the entire lower Elsafi by fire and plundering" (Marbacher Annalen).

This was, so to speak, the Hohenstaufen's debut in the battle for the crown, and the very next year, the same annals report, Phil- ipp raided Alsafi several times, again at harvest time, -destroyed numerous castles of the Bishop of Strafiburg and Count Alberto (of Dagsburg) -and besieged the city of StraSburg itself ... -. Both secular and ecclesiastical nobility joined the fray, including Bishop Diethelm of Constance and the chief shepherd of Regensburg. When the suburbs were already burning and the citizens were urging Orrsbishop Konrad to give way, the fighting, in which Philip's brother Palatine Otio of Burgundy, a brother of Bishop Konrad, was taken prisoner, came to an end.

and killed him, and the bishop paid homage to the Staufen

There was already a clash between the kings on the Moselle, whereupon the victorious Philip, the young süfie Mann, with a long line of probably mostly southern German prelates, devastating everything, advanced against Cologne, where Otto had retreated, burned Reagen, burned Bonn, later also Andernach, and his soldiery did not shrink back from any atrocities. If they hesitated to plunder a church, for example, Bishop Lupold of Worms, who was riding ahead of his troops, used to say that it was enough to leave the bones of the fools alone. Even the feathering of a nun is recorded, albeit severely punished by Philip. If he had not stopped his attack in front of Cologne, the still wall-less center of Guelph power, the civil war might have ended, which was already believed at the time - - Si tunc processisser, finem malis forsitan imposuisser- (Gesta Treveroriim}.

In the north, Nordhausen was conquered by the opposing side in the winter of 9 *9s, Saalfeld, which had been granted imperial immediacy, was looted and burned before Christmas, and the citizens were killed.
captured. Otto's army also included the abbot Heri- bert von Werden.*-

In the meantime, both pretenders to the throne had reported their story to Innocent, who had only been reigning for a few months. And just as Gregory Vfl. once used a dispute over the throne and the division of the empire to increase the power of the papacy and elevate it above the other, eagerly fueling the German civil war
i * 7 ff.), so now also Innocent. Rome did not want the monarchical unity of Germany any more than it wanted that of Italy.
until the late ig. century. Innocent was now particularly concerned with preventing the imminent cutting off of the Papal States, the union of Sicily with the Empire and the loss of papal feudal sovereignty."

In view of the Roman's outstanding importance, each of the rivals sought to win him over.

The Guelph emphasized the devotion of his house to the Roman Empire.

According to the Pope, his opponent Philip was also elevated to king as an exile, which was not quite true, as a legate of the Pope, a confidant of Henry VI, Bishop Bernard of Sutri, absolved him from the bariri, albeit in violation of his instructions. Innocent then deprived him of his bishopric and threw him into a monastery/prison for life.

But Otto needed Rome. He was weaker in Germany and lost his comrade in arms, King Richard I the Lionheart, who died of an arrow wound in March iqq during the siege of a castle belonging to the rebellious viceroy of Limoges. However, this also meant that the supply of English money dried up, as Richard's brother and successor John Ohneland {**99-***6) did not hand over three quarters of the cash treasure and all the jewels to his nephew Otto, as he had ordered on his deathbed, so fnnozenz once again raised his father's voice insistently.

But Ono needed the pope even more than the money. So he naturally gave him the patrimony and the Matildi estates and promised, albeit reluctantly, to recognize his "recuperation", both past and future. He also gave up the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, the Margraviate of Ancona and the Duchy of Spoleto. This was the firstJ ustification of the new papal power in central Italy, the new Papal States. Otto also promised to safeguard the papal

interests in Sicily, those vis-à-vis the city of Rome and the Tuscany and Lombard city federations. He promised to renounce the right of spoliation in Germany. He promised not only military, but also financial support, indeed, he promised almost everything that was desired, only to fail to deliver - but good old-fashioned princely and (still practised) politician usage.

While the less favorably positioned Welle bowed more and more to the abundantly outrageous curial demands - which amounted to nothing other than the liquidation of the empire in Italy - while Richard of England also paid sooo marks for the nephew at the papal court, even a number of German

prelates supported the Guelph, the Hohenstaufen side reacted increasingly sharply, rejecting Innoceriz's intervention in Italian imperial politics and warning him against breaking German rights, supported by the French King Philip U. Augustus {i i8o-i zz3), who had been in a war with Philip of Swabia for a long time.
5ommer i iq8 signed a friendship and defense pact.
had closed.**

lßf Bf O THE Z TR ITT O F FEN f
O R T H E HELP I N

Meanwhile, the civil war raged on in Germany. When Otto's brother, Count Palatine Henry, devastated the bishopric of Hildesheim in the summer of I zOo, Philip joined his army against Brunswick, including the Bishop of Halberstadt, the Archbishop of Trier Otto did not intervene in these battles. He was already on the defensive. However, he was strengthened by papal and foreign aid, so that the very next February he again undertook a military expedition to the Upper Rhine.

Year after year, such incursions, only too desirable to the Holy Father, succeeded one another. For the more and the longer one was bound north of the Alps by the -throne confusion-, the more intensely one was involved in campaigns and feuds, the heavier hand the pope had in the south, which he even blatantly let slip. Although he had long since decided in favor of one candidate, he presented h i m s e l f to the outside world as strictly impartial and even stuck with both. In the long term, however, he could not remain without a strong protective power and without de- finitive recognition of his -recuperation- by the empire, from which he had ultimately stolen considerable territories. But when the Germans appeared to settle the dispute among themselves at a convention of princes - news that hit the Curia like a bombshell - Innocent was pressed. After all, he now had to fear for his desired role as arbiter, for his supremacy.

Thus, after a phase of apparent neutrality, he declared himself at the turn of the year izoo/i2.OI, as was to be expected given his experiences with the Hohenstaufen dynasty, especially Henry VI, "beyond claim and right" (Kantorowicz), for the world pretender. In his letters to him between October i zoz and February izo9, he always made use of the formula - By God's and the Pope's grace, King of the Romans - and guaranteed in Otto's name that transgressing princes would retain their possessions without being harmed. Yet your
-favorite of the popes-, who only called the high clergy "monkeys", lnterest for religion and church -still alien" {Hauck).

On the other hand, contemporaries attested to the Hohenstaufen - for Ernst Kantorowicz, perhaps the gentlest, mildest sceptre that ever ruled over Germany - not only meekness, mildness, generosity, but also conscientious fulfillment of his church duties, real piety, as they also called him the pious prince, piissimus rex. He was seen among the scholars, the choirboys, in church. His marriage to the Princess of Byzantium, -Ros ohne Dorn und Taube sonder Gallen- (Walther von der Vogelweide), who gave him four daughters, was obviously intact and happy.

But a Hohenstaufen was out of the question. Simply because no pope loved a Hohenstaufen. Because a Hohenstaufen was always in danger of being overtaken by the Papal States. The Hohenstaufen was also too rich, the shaft comparatively penniless, his followers small; consequently more dependent on curial support. And finally, it was believed in Rome that the unspiritual warhorse Otto could be easily outwitted, but for this very reason he was valued as the sword of the churches.

In his rabulistic Deliberatio super facto imperii de tribus electis (Deliberation super facto imperii de tribus electis), first announced to the cardinals in the secret consistocium of January iaoi, the pope eloquently and scholastically disqualified the two baptisms

What he apparently liked most about Frederick ß. was the threat of the union of Sicily's crown with the empire, and the danger of the hereditary nature of the imperial throne when Philip of Swabia was raised.

would. Indeed, Innocent, who liked to boast about his good heart and good conscience (corde puro et conscientia bona), turned the truth on its head by claiming that it was not he who had robbed Frederick of Swabia and the kingdom, but Philip, his uncle, and that Philip still wanted to rob him of Sicily. Moreover, he counted him, like Frederick I and Henry VI, among a clan of ecclesiastical persecutors (genere persecutorum). And in order to make his decision more effective, he immediately banned Philip's entourage in Cologne in the spring through the cardinal legate Guido, one of the most prominent Roman curials. However, this, together with the annulment of all oaths of allegiance made to the Hohenstaufen, encouraged the migration of the spiritual and secular princes to the secular party.

All the apostolic favor fell to Otto.

In order to be recognized by the pope, he approved the latter's territorial postulates and on 8 June i took the infamous NeuBer oath, handed down in various versions, whereby he renounced many imperial rights in Italy and any independent policy there. In particular, he swore to enforce Rome's original legal and territorial claims in central Italy, the so-called recuperations, and not least to guarantee the Kingdom of Sicily. And the pope also forced Otto, despite his reluctance, to make peace with the French king. He had to explicitly declare that he would reaffirm the commitments he had made when he received the imperial title. The agreement seemed perfect*'

However, as important as **Innocent's** decision in favor of the Guelphs may have been, more important to him was the right to decide on the election of the German king himself, which he then also enacted in the Decree Venerabile of z6. March i zoa. As naturally as he ruled over bishops and cardinals, he also wanted to rule the princes, to award royal and imperial crowns - the privilege of the papacy to be accepted by all in the future.

Once again, traditional law was turned on its head. **For** just as the emperors once took the popes for granted, the

While the popes appointed the emperors, the popes now appointed the emperors. At the same time, lnocent claimed to be authorized to bring to the throne even those elected by a minority, even those elected unlawfully, if he considered them suitable. Just as he also taught that he could annul any oath at his discretion, which particularly applied to oaths of princes that did not comply with divine commandments (i.e. papal directives) - and occasionally expressed his complete disgust at the crime of perjury!

Rather, the Pope reprimanded the high lords because they had not long claimed him, the competent judge, to whom the decision on the throne dispute belonged, before whom the question of the election of the king, -principia1iter et finaliteq according to origin and final purpose-, belonged. And lnriozenz emphasizes the serious obstacles that speak against the Duke of Swabia, such as his public excommunication, his obvious perjury
"and the widely known persecution that his ancestors and he himself had brazenly allowed the Apostolic Smhl and other churches to suffer. On the other hand, he is determined, which he should still bitterly regret, to appoint King Otto - with the Lord's consent - to the crown of the empire ...".

THE POPE, THE C LERU S AND THE PRINCES IN THE FO RTtSANG D F.S G **ERMAN CIVIL WAR**

Innocent now immobilized the northern world.

He not only sought to win English money for the Guelph, but also Philip Augustus of France for him, as he repeatedly wanted to unite the two kings in peace in order to drive them together against the Hohenstaufen. Innocent also sent **whole** squadrons of letters to princes and bishops, cleverly calculated and lively in style. He did not hesitate to address subalterns, ministers and abbots, priors and even

Enemies. He was not stingy with moralizing or praise: he congratulated, reprimanded, intimidated, cheered up, he promised advantages, he held out the prospect of fiefdoms and offices; -soon the conscience of men who felt themselves bound by the earth was to be put to sleep, soon anxious minds were to be reassured about their possessions and their position. And all this was delivered with that sonorous rhetoric which is native to the Romance countries and for which the Latin language is so incomparably suited (Hauck).

At first Innocent, who is said never to have planned a more sophisticated diplomatic action, was quite successful, especially with the prelates.

Among those who defected - here are just a few examples - was the agile Archbishop Eberhard 11th of Salzburg, a nephew of Diethelm, the chief shepherd of Constance. Eberhard owed his career to the Hohenstaufen dynasty, but made a pilgrimage to Innocent, promising him, obviously deceiving him, but favored by him, to promote the worldly side, while continuing to support the Hohenstaufen dynasty, for which Philip I GOZ gave him the imperial abbeys of Chiernsee and Seon, including all land and rights. After Philip's assassination, the archbishop switched to Otto IV, whereupon the latter gave him gifts, but also imprisoned him in Italy, which resulted in a written promise of loyalty from Eberhard, as well as further contacts with the pope, until he adhered to Frederick II from the beginning of z--3.

Bishop Hermann von Münster was initially a committed advocate of the

Guelphs. However, when he was promised the succession to Chancellor Konrad in the Würzburg diocese, Hermann took up the position of stevedore, but when the Pope did not recognize the agreement, he switched back to the Guelphs at the beginning of i zoo.

Innocent and his cardinals now promoted *Ono* wherever possible. They lured, removed and excommunicated prelates. The Pope rZOI appointed the holder of the bishopric of Cambrai {KamerijkJ as bishop of Sens and gave him the Guelph-minded Johann as his successor Dietrich von Unrecht, who was loyal to the Hohenstaufen dynasty, was put under pressure, as was the insecure, money-hungry Adolf of Cologne, as were the bishops Bertram von Metz, Johann

von Trieb and then the

of Magdeburg, Merseburg, Bamberg, Augsburg and Passau. Disciplinary action was taken against the chief shepherd of Toul. Archbishop Hartwig II of Hamburg-Bremen was imprisoned and stripped of his power.

Rome spared no pretext, no pressure, no spiritual violence. And no matter how immoral someone was, the main thing was that he was a good pope, such as the abysmally depraved Hugh of Petraponte (Pierrepont), Bishop of Liège, who, although related to the Hohenstaufen dynasty, stood by Otto from the very beginning.

The long-suspected Hildesheim and Würzburg chief shepherd Conrad I of Querfurt, as talented as he was weak in character, the founder of the long line of chancellor-bishops of the 3rd century, chancellor of Henry VI and King Philip. He opened the long line of third-century chancellor-bishops, was chancellor to Henry VI and King Philip, who removed him from office due to his dubious attitude in the throne dispute, and was even murdered.

Bishop Konrad, dei; particularly fond of power and splendor, did not even renounce the pomp of his court council during the Crusade, also played a significant role in the bribery scandal at Tibnin

(p. 33). had apparently fallen away from Philip under pressure from the Pope, his former student friend in Paris. Ostracized by the great ban, he went barfufi in Rome with a

He was again made bishop of Würzburg, but the unsuspecting Philip gave him further gifts for his services, including Steineck Castle on the Saale on September 8, izox. Sources loyal to the Hohenstaufen family accuse him of rebellion against the Empire, with which the fortification of Würzburg's Marienberg is said to be connected, and also accuse him of "despising church property in many ways" (Otto von St. Blasien). Just as the Gortesmann had sworn the Würzburg chapter - whose minority accused him of extortion, simony and plundering church property - to pay aooo marks to his relatives after his death.

When Philip came to Würzburg in the late fall of i zoz, he was met only with the prelate's severed hand and his "bloody clothes" - a murder that was certainly desired by the king, but for which he was hardly to blame, according to contemporary accounts.

Chroniclers claim. His own bisium ministers, including Henry and Bodo of Ravensburg, siblings of Henry of Kalden, had killed the chief shepherd on the evening of December 3rd, not the only murder of a Würzburg bishop. {Until the early xq. For this reason, an eternal memorial light stood in the Bruderhof, south of the cathedral, on a tall column.}

Of course, the Ottonian party now also bound princes to itself.

The father of the later counter-king Henry Raspe, for example, Landgrave Hermann 1 of Thuringia, who changed hands to Otto no less than three times, swore an oath of fealty each time, collected gifts of money from both sides, also repeatedly received threats of banishment, but then supported the Hohenstaufen again before he died - at Wartburg Castle, under him a center of courtly dichmng - - --7 in spiritual transformation. However, this exemplary commuter got his money's worth with his unscrupulous shark dealings, but had to accept heavy territorial losses like few of the greats, not to mention the devastation of his country.

Otakar I Premysl of Bohemia was also won over by the pope. As the old master of German church history, theologian Albert Hauck, outlines, he demonstrates all too clearly the villainy of papal diplomacy, the abuse of the papacy's power, and the abuse of its power.

of the spiritual in favor of the temporal, quite actually the agent of church history.

E IQÄ WIi Otakar was elevated to king by Philip of Swabia and rewarded with the mediatization of the Prague bishopric. Innocent therefore took up Otakar's "Eheskaridal" the following year. The prince had separated from his wife Adelaide of Meissen and married Constance of Hungary. Innocent was able to

-in good conscience - (salva conscientia) without negotiation. However, when Otakar was worked over by the pope and lured with promises, at the end of i soz he went over to the other party and allowed himself to be crowned by Otto on zJ AUguSt IaO3 in Merseburg {once again), the Holy Father's conscience calmed down again; only in the fall of

-- 4 again, when the risky king once more

changed sides because not all his wishes had been fulfilled. Then, of course, having won Innocent over once again, his conscience allowed him to offer the Bohemian the lifting of the excommunication. But when he was about to fall away from Otto, Innocent's conscience struck again, and the process came back into play.

Soon after the beginning of the new century, the pope could see himself close to his goal, even feel victorious, as Otto I kO3 was at the height of his power. In dust and ashes, he later wrote to Innocent, his kingship would have dissolved "if your hand, or rather the authority of the apostolic see, had not lowered the scales in my favor".

That was not too much to say.

The Roman's allies kept Philip inTl with deceptive negotiations, most recently in Egeq until the spring of Z LO3 hln, to optimally prepare for the great Guelph army campaign. Cardinal legate Guido von Präneste had previously inspired the Bohemians to go to war, and the Holy Father himself had asked King Emmerich of Hungary to reinforce their soldiery. In the end, Philip, who had invaded Thuringia in May with around zooo knights and thousands of archers and devastated the central country, which was equally important to both parties, was attacked by the Guelphs from the north: the Guelphs from the north, the -Ungheren, Valewen unte Beheren", the Bohemian King and his brother Margrave Henry of Moravia, from the south het allegedly, very exaggerated,‹• 4° °-o› yes 6o OOO men, in any case immense-

re troops that secured Otto's supremacy, and before whom Philip and the Archbishop of Mainz, who supported him with concern, fled before Otto IV. -and the cardinal Guido" (Braunschweigische Reimchronikl) appeared on the battlefield.

Sechnhn monasteries and3s farreien are said to have been destroyed by the Bohemians - who have been well Catholic for a long time - together with the auxiliary peoples in Thuringia.

destroyed, the churches plundered, the priests' cassocks used as clothing for the invaders, the altar cloths used as horse blankets, the women dragged along on the stirrups for unclear purposes, but the

atrocities went even further than the usual Christian abuse.

The robbers, in their insatiable greed for plunder, dispersed on their way back and were often slaughtered in this way. Otto IV, however, had climbed to the summit of his triumph, the territory where he was recognized as king almost doubled.

But then the story changed again.

The same princes who had just defected to Otto had already fallen - when they met again in Thuringia, but now the Bohemian secretly left without a battle
- from him again. Among them was the Thuringian landgrave¡ then King Otakaq, whom Philip followed until he delivered hostages and 7oOo pounds of silver; indeed, above all, literally the first; Otto's own elder brother, Count Palatine Henry, which brought him back the Rhenish Palatinate, among other things. The bishops of Liège, Münster, Osnabrück and Strafiburg also defected, and whole cohorts of Lower Rhine and Westphalian counts and nobles changed fronts. If they had first milked the Guelphs, they now milked the well-to-do Hohenstaufen.

Of course, they were all solely concerned with power, money and their own personal benefit¡ including, of course, Archbishop Adolf of Cologne, who was now also overrun with his entire weighty family. He crowned the Hohenstaufen - who had given him
A f t e r his re-election on January 6, i zo5 in Aachen in the same place where he had already crowned the Guelph, who owed him his election as king above all else, he now incurred the pope's particular hatred. Innocent banished and deposed him.

In Cologne, however, where between x i3 i and iaöi the rival Rhenish aristocratic families of Berg and Are-Hochstaden
bishops (until raqy no less than i i of z7 archbishops), the new archbishop was elected at the end of July i zo5.
Bruno IV of Sayn, a supporter of the Guelphs, was unable to assert himself against his predecessor. This led to a first schism that lasted for many years, to heated battles on both sides, in which churches w e r e plundered, set on fire, turned into castles, priests, monks and nuns were chased away, imprisoned and mistreated. Everywhere

The city was pillaged and whole villages went up in flames. In September izo5, Philip marched against Cologne with a rear guard that included Archbishop Adolf, while Bishop Brtino of Sayn fought on Otto's side in the city. The Welfc bishop, who had a large contingent of foot soldiers and 6oo knights alone, had just returned from a campaign against the Count of Guelders when Philippe approached. The Hohenstaufen attacked the city for five days at the beginning of October, *Ono* was seriously wounded in a fall, but Cologne was held. In the north-east, Gosla$ fell in June rzo6 at the hands of Otto's imperial tribune Gunzelin von Wolfenbüttel, whereby -dha mordes vii gescach- (Braunschweiger Reimchronik) and the town and its churches were looted for eight days**.

More and more princes, nobles and prelates now joined Philip. The royal ministers took his side, which meant that the imperial estates in their care also fell to him. The most powerful even sought a family connection with him. The Guelph front, which had been painstakingly put together, collapsed. And since the people were also against the pope, whose favorite Otto was also decisively defeated on Philip's fifth military expedition to the Lower Rhine on -7 J- ' - - 6 near Wassenberg west of Cologne and fled to Brunswick, and since the opposing bishop of Cologne, Bruno, was also captured in hiding, Bruno, the opposing bishop of Cologne, was immediately put in chains and held for months on the Trifels, and peace was largely restored in Germany, the pope, cornered, was willing enough to give in, withdraw his hand from his protégé and negotiate with the Hohenstaufen.

Although Innocent did not yet call Philip "king", he no longer referred to Ono as such, calling them both "one prince" and "the other". However, he soon wrote to the previously so maligned Staufen in a completely different tone; his release from the ban took place in August rzoy in Worms. In his first letter to Philip, Innocent congratulated him on i. November x - 7 ^* of his
Re-admission to the SchoB of Mother Church and promised,
to contribute to the enhancement of his honor - as far as possible (-Quantum cum Deo possumus-), as he elastically assured himself.

But in the end, he no longer had any reservations about Philippe's kingship. And in the end, he even conceded him the imperial coronation in the event of a trip to Rome. His retreat was total.

K ö I GS M ORD I M BA St BER G ER BISHOP'S PALACE O R BISHOP'S EKB ERT "AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS OWN"

But at this moment, when the complete defeat of the pope was imminent, when Philip was already acting as Roman king, when he struck a final blow against the world in Brunswick, w h e n he had 30,000 marks in his war chest, he armed himself enormously throughout the empire, gathered troops and marched with them towards Bamberg, while in the north Archbishop Haldemar of Bremen lurked with his soldiers, enormous masses from Bohemia were already approaching and the infamous auxiliary contingents of the King of Hungary (p. 7*l, yes, at that moment when a Ratzeburg priest was told by a dream vision: -In the year i zo8 the end will c o m e ", there it came, there King Philip died. On zi. June i zo8, Otto von Wittelsbach, Count Palatine of Bavaria, stabbed him to death - - dangerously and as a murderer of many nobles by complaint and judgment obviously-
{Marbach Annals). And in the following year, he himself is slain by Imperial Marshal Heinrich von Kalden while fleeing near Regensburg.

The shabby assassination, according to Albert Hauck "the worst atrocity known to German history", according to Gregorovius "one of its most tragic events", put an end to the Hohenstaufen dynasty in Germany and began more than a century of fighting between the popes and the empire.

The killing of Philip was, as is generally assumed, a private revenge due to the break-up of his daughter Beatrix's betrothal to Count Palatine Otto. But, one may ask, can't political interests also play a role in a private vendetta? In the

stand in the background? Isn't a private revenge ideal for concealing completely different motifs?

The crime took place after a period of princely rule in Bamberg, where the king, together with the bishops, had lifted the bones of St. Cunegonde, already "famous through many miracles {Marbacher Ariiialen¡ cf. VI 67 ff}. But the sacred and the criminal are in history, especially that of the Middle Ages, are very often interwoven, if not identical.

The murder, the first regicide in the history of the German Empire, took place at the court of the local bishop Ekbert (la 3-**57), whose brother Duke Otto of Merania was celebrating his wedding there,
happened in the middle of the bishop's palace, where the king, who had had a vein opened, was resting "in a special place" while his army was camped outside the city. Only Truchsess Heinrich von Waldburg and the Bishop of Speyer, Konrad I von Schar- fenberg, were with him when the Wittelsbach knocked, the king let him come in -more consue- to", then the latter drew his sword as if in jest, as he had already amused Philip several times with such things. Now, however, he forbade the game, but the Witrelsbacher called out: -"Now it shall not be a game!", rushed to the resting king, pierced his neck and fled immediately. TruchseB, who had jumped in between, had been seriously wounded in the chin, but Chief Shepherd Conrad had been elevated to the Speyer chair by Philip anno iaoo, **12.08** to be his chancellor, had quickly committed a crime - and became chancellor of the world after the Staufer had been liquidated.

As far as Bishop Ekbert was concerned, he had been suspended by Innoceriz for promoting Philip, but in the summer of i zo6, two years before the assassination, he had been awarded the pallium; a man of whom it was not only thought: -The traces of his spiritual work are few (Wendehorst), but also emphasized by the historian of the diocese of Bamberg: -Without doubt, he had taken up the sword more often and rather than the cross and wielded it with a dexterity that more powerful imperial princes could not match- {Looshorn).

Was Ek6en in on the murder plan? Some people doubt it or even rule it out. Even according to the Dictionary of Theology and

Church *i 99 $)* but the Bishop of Bamberg, as well as his brother Henry, Margrave of Istria, are accused of connivance with the "was probably rightly blamed. According to the lexicon of the Middle Ages, both w e r e considered accomplices. And significantly, the bishop did not face criminal proceedings. Together with Henry, who according to Otto of St. Blasien was the only instigator of the crime, he fled, ostracized and removed from office, to Hungary to the court of King Andrew 11 (i roy-i z35), their brother-in-law, who was as warlike as he was devoted to the church.

It was not until three years later, in i, that Ekberi was able to return to Bamberg, supported by Innocent, who was allegedly deeply saddened by the murder. Immediately restored by a papal court, he became court chancellor to Otto IV - until he was transferred to the victorious Hohenstaufen Frederick. The highly respected shepherd of souls built Bamberg Cathedral, as it still stands today, took part in the elevation of his niece, Eisabeth of Thuringia, who had been canonized the year before, and died blessed in the Lord shortly afterwards. He concluded, writes Looshorn, the diocesan historian insinuatingly, -a romantic bishop's life-, cynically asking whether he was about to be canonized.
-was not at the height of his time or was one of its worse children?-
.--.

The king's death sparked feuds and turmoil all around. People adhered less than ever to law and order. In Verdun, the citizens fought punitive battles with the clergy, and Bishop Albert was killed on July ay. July. Many nobles, Count Hugo von Montfort, his brother Rudolf, Count Palatine of Tübingen, Count Egeno von Urach, numerous barons and knights became highwaymen - as they had always been. Royal towns were now being ravaged and burnt down, royal estates were being preyed upon and no one stood up for the immediate heirs, for Queen Maria, the -dove without a street-, who died prematurely in August*7- , for Philip's four children, and for the royal family.
daughters with full inheritance rights.

However, while the grandees had previously increasingly gone over to Philip, they changed sides again almost immediately after his death. First and foremost the princes of the church, including Philip's close

ally

trautez, the Bishop of Speyer Konrad von Scharfenberg (p. y6!). Odep also one of the most zealous Hohenstaufen comrades, Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt, to whom Otto paid 8oo marks for his prompt defection. The actual leader of the Hohenstaufen cause in the north-east, Archbishop Albrecht of Magdeburg, was particularly praised by the pope for this. And he too was rewarded by Otto with a handsome sum {even if, like others, in view of the king's exhausted coffers due to war and armaments, only from prescriptions for the future). After all, Otto had still given the archbishop's brothers, Counts Heinrich and Günther von Kà- fernburg, iooo mafk in return, along with the town of Saalfeld as a pledge. Even abbots received gratuities for their exchange, Abbot Heri- bert of Wenden received interest, Abbot Widukind of Corvey the imperial forest of Solling. One bought, mau sold, the constant lack of scruples brought money. Walther laments the pandering market of the nobility. -Dá hin dá her was never worth so much in all German lands: whoever cannot do this here, is cheated by the spil. künnege wârcn é die niht dâ hin dâ her bekanden: nust si der Íist wol kemen an, inwerhes umben bgen. before the great princes did not lie, neither did the people nor the land: now it is known in myistic aÍlen dà hin dà her.-

A race for Otto's favor began. "Messengers approached Bratinschweig from all corners and ends of the realm, with assurances of the devotion and willingness to serve of their masters ..." {Winkelmann). In short, by far the majority supported the Guelphs again and called him to the Court Diet in Frankfort on i x. November i zo8 again to the riim King 8us. Soon afterwards, as Innocent had repeatedly advised, the almost thirty-seven-year-old married Beatrix, a daughter of the former Hohenstaufen, who was at most eleven years old, and all the castles, cities and dominions that had previously been acquired at great expense and with endless sums of money by the more generous emperors Frederick and Henry were transferred to his control; He also received the favor of all the princes and especially the Swabians together with the regalia and Trifels Castle" (Marbacher Analen).

The assassination of Philippe not only benefited his rival, but also furthered the pope's ambitions to rule the empire. This was all the more so as Otto continued to devoutly proclaim himself as king "by the grace of the Pope" and confessed to owing everything to him. The Holy Father, however, who detested the murder, at least outwardly, as much as it suited him and so relieved he now recognized in the atrocity a clear judgment of God, whereby the discord in Germany was resolved. He immediately congratulated Otto, reaffirmed his affection for him, called him "dearest son", - the man after his own heart-, signaled his imminent elevation to the imperial throne
- and, suspicious as he was, gave him a watchdog in Bishop John of Kamerijk**.

Towards the end of March izoq in Speyer, *Otto* renewed the Neufier Ka- pitulation of xzox (p. 53), renewed renunciations of various ecclesiastical rights of the king in Germany, renewed the renunciation of the Matildic estates to the Duchy of Spoleto and the Margraviate of Ancona, albeit without the consent of the German princes. And promised his help in eradicating the heretics.

But no sooner were both gentlemen xzoq on Otros Romzug - the last trip to Italy by a German king had been thirteen years ago
- The picture changed when they met for the first time in Viterbo. Innozcnz received his protégé with biblical affection: - "There is my dearest son, my soul is well pleased with you", embracing him in a fatherly manner, while, according to the - Braun- schweigische Reimchronik-, -sin munt im eyn vruntlich kussen gaph ...-. But when it came to business, the good understanding was over.

Otto no longer wanted to keep his promises. He wanted to sign conditions before the imperial coronation and only wanted to negotiate afterwards. As the German greats had not agreed to his promises, they were not legally binding anyway. He played off one oath against the other, claiming places such as Montefiascone and the much disputed Viterbo. For him, a deed was now merely papacy; the pope could keep it in the box. He laughed and despised the greedy

The crowning of the emperor, who wanted to get as much as possible for the imperial crown, who wanted to counter the «gratis» sei.
coronation, even though the coronation was

In the face of the united princes, the superior German weaponry and the
fen, Innocent flinched and crowned the Welten a4- October iaoq emperor in St. Peter's. Like most German emperors, Otro did not even set foot in Rome. And the very next
On the 5th day, he had to leave the Roman Empire on papal orders, not without the usual "coronation battle" with bloody losses on both sides. Pope and emperor never saw each other again.

The differences, to put it mildly, became ever greater between the heads of Christianity in the 3rd century, all the more astonishing as the time of the Crusades, into which we are now increasingly entering, was, from the point of view of world and church politics, "a particularly happy time, almost the heyday of religious life and ecclesiastical sentiment", as theologian Bernhard Riddee, once General President of the international Kolping Society, emphasizes with imprimatur and in agreement with countless Christian scholars. After all, "a special religious warmth and loving ecclesiastical attitude and enthusiasm in the overall attitude of the Western people was the absolutely necessary prerequisite for the entire crusade movement".

The Catholic in no way conceals the fact that "individual crusade participants also had ignoble motives ... but of course - as with all mass human endeavors. Just think of t h e Hitler and Stalin eras, after and during which Ridder wrote his three-volume "History of the Catholic Church". No, - ignoble motives among "individuals" were lost in the general deep religious enthusiasm. For, the author teaches us: "Religious love and enthusiasm wants to set deeds of love, wants to see places sanctified by the presence of the Savior, wants to kiss tenderly the ground that was used with the precious Redeemer's blood, wants to embrace lovingly the rock of Calvary, wants to be moved out of thankfulness for the Savior.

pray with a full heart in the burial cave, where heavenly messengers once called out to the astonished women: 'He is risen, he is not here!

Of course, it is precisely this feeling - "he is not here" - that one cannot help but have when looking at the by. According to the "classical" count, there were four further **crusades**, the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Crusades, but there were also
-armed weaponry of a hitherto unknown kind*.

3. CHAPTER

"THE GREATEST EPIC" CRUSADE OF ALL PLACES. THE FOURTH CRUSADE (Z 2O2.-I L 4)- CRUSADES IN SPAIN. THE CHILDREN'S CROSS (i x i z)

-Finally, Innocent III used the idea of crusades in wars against all kinds of enemies. From the beginning of his pontificate, he endeavored to launch a new crusade in the Orient. He promised to use the crusade's rewards for the fight against the Marquis of Annweilet, w h o threatened papal rights in Sicily, and for the fight against the hard-line Albigenses. He subsequently approved of the conquest of Christian Constantinople by the army of the Fourth Crusade, he regarded the pagan war on the Iberian Peninsula as a crusade, and he allowed a crusade vow to be fulfilled in battles in Livonia.
In short: Kreuznug everywhere." Ernst Dieter Heh1'

U'1RAT AU F REU G IÖ SEM DU FT?

IfR 13th century saw the beginning of the great period of crusades by Christians against Christians: against Greek Christians (zao3/x1O4l. against the Albigenses (r zoqfi zzq), against Serbs i••7 *-i'}, against the Stedingen peasants (i s3). There have also been smaller moves before

against Christians, for example during the Wendish Crusade i -'7 (V 47 ff.), when the Slavic suburbs of Dobin, Demmin and Szczecin were attacked, but Szczecin was already Christian.

It goes without saying that, according to the basic idea of the Crusades, there were also further crusades against the "infidels", against the crescent, which ignominiously desecrated the sacred and cruelly oppressed the Christians {Church Lexicon or Encyclopedia of Catholic Theology).

Behind all this stood the papacy as a tireless and relentless warmonger, as a force that intensively supported all these wars and, last but not least, also decisively financed them.

Clerics no longer like to hear the tiuri. Yet the eleven-volume Church Dictionary of Catholic Theology (written in the middle of the iq. Century, so modestly and humbly the title page, written "with the collaboration of the most excellent Catholic scholars") writes quite unconcernedly, almost boastingly: -If we compare the individual crusades among themselves according to their leading idea, design and execution, we find that the purity of the fronimous enthusiasm prevails mainly in the first" (cf. VI 38o ff.!), -that already in the second this enthusiasm was very clouded ..., that the abundance of misfortunes b e c a m e more and more paralyzingq the sacrifices more and more heavy; the successes more and more doubtful, and that only {!) the

higher

The power of the Church was able to overcome such difficulties and to keep the masses, which were becoming more and more spiritless and sluggish, in motion and keep them in motion for so long.

The incessant incitement to holy war by the Catholics is not only admitted but praised by the "most excellent Catholic scholars".

Likewise, on the very next page, it is made clear who provided the money for the blood work, who exploited the people again and again and in the most varied ways. "Who finally made the immense material sacrifices for this work? Who else but the Church, which awakened the spirit of sacrifice a thousandfold by procuring tithes, offerings and contributions of all kinds, and thus by procuring the most general participation in the meritorious work, not only with its loving and fiery words, but also with its superior power and energetic example. For what did she not contribute, with what effort did she collect, with what care for the use of the funds! The accusation of self-interest is so leet; that it is rejected by every better historian."

Among the better, if not the best, historians are, of course, the most excellent Catholic scholars, one of whom is long and broad in his invocation of the advantages of the Crusades over all those who seem to have nothing better to do than to blame their own misfortunes on the religious scent of the Crusades .... .-.

The religious scent!

For example, it is said that these crusades avoided "a kind of slave war", a dangerous battle that was already in preparation. Should there be -again (!) only masters and servants". But the noble crusades distracted from the -violence of chivalry- and gave "freedom to the people-! Furthermore, the crusades prevented -the threat of mass poverty-"

"and a developing proletariat - an aspect t h a t w i l l certainly still play a devastating role in world politics in the twenty-first century. Century still plays and will play a devastating role in world politics. And do the prominent church lights in these holy wars also see

-with melancholy so many evening men and women; children

and old men - into the grass atBen, into the desert sand, into the Meet wohín immed - we are comforted by the thought that they would probably have been even more unhappy, languishing body and soul, worn out for a long time at home". At home? In the western world, which is far from orthodox, completely imbued with Christianity and dominated by the clergy and their profane friends?

Strange, really. But the zelebren Catholic ex- pcrts are not surprised. Rather, they must recognize that these Christian masses, as it is demagogically and with a truly peacock-thick cynicism, were still capable of enthusiasm for a worthy cause, and that the lit fire could consume the dry wood before it rottingly infected the healthy one or consumed the freshly growing one". And this is how the Creeping Draught ends in the standard work of the most excellent Catholic scholars: -The most magnificent epic with a myriad of episodes of all kinds has Europe to show in the Crusades --

Innocent III in particular, however, not only urged crusades in all directions from the beginning and throughout his entire pontificate, but he also incorporated the idea of crusading unusually clearly and concisely "into the official ecclesiastical doctrine and discourse" (Riley-Smith). He was not only, as usual, calling for war, but also its overall direction. He wanted to have everything in his hands with an exorbitant lust for power and, in concrete terms, he wanted to eradicate the heathenism of the north-east, the heresy in southern France, Islam in Spain, and above all he wanted to destroy the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, i o7 -nunengebrochen, i iqz merely very diirhig restored. But with all his crusades, the proud pope achieved only a sham or a failure" (H. E. Mayer).

P ROVID E FOR CO N STANTINO PEL:
DxS CH R IS LI CH E ZADAR IS DESTROYED

Innozeriz was barely in office when, in August i i q8, he called for a new major crossroads - the Middle Ages used the
This term was rarely used and only now, since the *3rd *4th century - to liberate the Holy Land, to expel the -unbelievers-. It was the so-called Fourth Crusade { izoa-izo¢), for which Pope
almost -a matter of the heart" (Catholic Seppelt). He was even more committed than his predecessors (Ma- leczek). Even more so than the pope of the horrific Jerusa- lem massacre, Blessed Urban H. (VI 38o ff.!}, with his army of "Gotres" {exercirus Dei) - "Verum et vere pro no bis pugnat Deus-, rejoices his legate and deputy at the time, Bishop Ademar of Le Puy. Even more committed than Urban's successor Paschal II, who raves about the blood-sacrificed hands of the victors, who so warmly welcomes this "pilgrim" movement and the undertaking of one of the infamous leaders of the First Crusade
i 37* <.), Bohemund I of Antioch, openly called by himself an expedition against Byzantium, against the Christian empire, as a crusade - blesses.

The noble idea was further extended by Innocent II, who in 55 granted the same indulgence to all those who would fight his antipope Anaclet II and his ally, King Roger II of Sicily, for the "liberation of the Church" as Urban II had once granted to those who had rushed to Jerusalem to liberate the Christians.

• 4 i Eugene III calls for a new crusade, but also regards the pagan wars in all directions, in the Holy Land not necessarily in Spain and east of the Elbe, as crusades. By divine decree, he proclaims; be it on all fronts to the
battle had come. Everywhere, even in the east of the German Empire, just a few years after the First Crusade: - our Jerusa- lem" {Hierusalcm nostra).

Innocent III now made use of the cardinal legate Peter Capuano, among others, in his extremely stirring war-mongering, and he also used

especially the tongue-tied preacher Fulko von Neuilly. In the wake of the contemporary poverty movement t-Naked after the naked Christ-), Fulko mobilized the ever-fanatical masses, the "poor crusaders", as well as numerous "poor" from the French nobility (together with the Flemish feudal main supporters of this war) with 1)ammende appeals and was also made blessed by his church (feast a. March); as a leading crusade chronicler, Gottfried von Villehardouin, reports, the Lord worked many miracles through him. Not enough - through Cardinal Peter of Capua, Inrio- cenz proclaims a generous indulgence: - All who cross themselves and worship God serve in the army for one year, shall be acquitted of all sins they had committed and confessed." And this fraud, too, as Villehardouin writes, moved the hearts of men; -and many took the cross in order to receive such a great reward. But even those who did not go out did not murder him, but had someone else murder for them and paid for his equipment and his upkeep.

At the head of the Fourth Crusade, proclaimed by Innoceriz and organized throughout the West, which completely missed its target but hit another one, was not a king but a series of renowned counts: Theobald of Champagne, Louis of Blois, Simon of Montfort, Balduin IX of £-landem, Boniface of Montferrat or even Gottfried of Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, the official crusade reporter. Of course, there was no shortage of bishops and abbots, of lower nobility. In Germany, where people feared with Walther von der Vogelweide that there would be

"But even in France, there was no lack of skeptical voices of profane provenance, which were repeatedly lamented by the preachers.

The Pope did not want the kings at all, they would only have obscured his share. He did not write to them at all. He simply wanted them to keep the peace in favor of his war. On the other hand, he turned to the maritime cities of Italy, whose fleets he needed, because they only wanted to sail by sea.

The initial target, for strategic reasons, was Agyp-

This was decided in a secret supplementary agreement, but concealed from the crusaders. A)s the enemy's most vulnerable point, as a granary and center of power, Egypt had already been considered on the First Crusade. However, as the hardships of the overland route were feared after Barbarossa's experiences, Innocent was particularly attracted to the native maritime cities, of which Pisa and Genoa, both well Christianized, were themselves in battle and therefore dropped out.

He bought the passage from the Venetian Doge En- rico Dandolo {I I z-I ZOj), probably the most cunning politician of his time, indeed, according to Heinrich Kretschmayr in his three-volume history of Venice, one of the strangest phenomena in history; even the Pope could not hold a candle to him. For Whoo knights with their horses, qooo squires and so ooo foot soldiers, a tax of 85 ono marks of silver was agreed. But although the sum, for what turned out to be a very excessive contingent, could be paid in four installments, it could not be paid in full, especially as the Venetiansq, who were also to take an active part in the battle with 5o warships - in return for half the spoils of war - did not grant any debt relief.

Now the almost blind, over ninety-year-old doge - probably a nephew of the patriarch of Grado of the same name known from the Investiture Controversy - who was far removed from any crusade enthusiasm, ruthlessly calculating and far-sighted, had asked in the pulpit of St. Mark's Church to take the cross "to protect and instruct you". Even though he was already weak, he wanted to take part in an undertaking that involved other members of the family: his son Reniei, the deputy head of government, and another Dandolo, Vitale, commander of the Venetian battle fleet. However, he was not interested in God's reward but, in the tradition of all Italian maritime adventurers, in hegemony in the Mediterranean Orient, the expansion of business, new commercial operations, bridgeheads, ports, trading posts, customs freedoms, in short, transportation, percentages, profit. For this very reason, however, he could not wage war with the "infidel" Egypt.

one of its main trading partners for exports and imports. And it was no coincidence that Enrico Dandolo had already guaranteed the Egyptian Sultan x security against any invasion.

The Doge, who probably already h a d other plans in mind, now donated the

34 OOO Silbermark, the highly indebted knight initially to storm Zadar {Zara), which had fallen away from the Maritime Republic in i i86. The city, Venice's most important Adriatic port on the Dalmatian coast, had been an archbishopric since i i 5d/i r y 5 , subordinate to the Patriarch of Grado and currently annexed by Catholic Hungary. And although its king himself had taken the cross and the Tsarese

- The Doge, of course, only saw pirates and murderers against whom he wanted revenge - had erected crucifixes on the wall, the crusaders blew up the harbor chain on November i and conquered>4 November i, despite fierce protests in their own

Zadar again for Venice. The city was sacked,

Every church was also robbed, some of the walls and houses torn down, and for almost a week they fought over the spoils: a much-noted, if comparatively modest, prelude to the conquest of Constantinople.

Although the Pope excommunicated the aggressors, he quickly lifted the ban on his armed forces and left only the Venetians in it. However, the French and G e r m a n s were also allowed to communicate freely with them, both in military and human terms. Of course, lnnozenz did not abandon his crusade because of the incident. He soon even happily approved of a much larger, world-historical butchery.

BYZANTI NISH HISTORIES AND THE A BEND COUNTRY

What the little side trip to Zadar led to was a crusade by Christians against Christians, a war against Orthodox Christianity - already prepared from afar by the

growing animosity towards the Greek Empire during the iz. The crusades to the Holy Land were considered to be hindered by the Greek Empire. In fact, it remained a regular concern of the pious West to combine the crusade in the Orient with a war against Byzantium {Hehl). On the other hand, Eastern Rome regained half of Asia Minor through the crusades and
-did not dislike the fact that Islam and the West were wearing each other out in mutual battles - (Bosl).

One of the most important organizers of the Second Crusade had set about promoting a new war shortly after its failure: St. Bernard of Clairvaux¡, the Doctor of the Church, supported by another saint, Abbot Petrus Venerabilis of Cluny, a man who not only fought fiercely against Muslims and Jews, but even fought with Abbot Pontius over the ownership of his own property.
monastery (cf. p. 4 z8), finally also supported by Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, at times the most important advisor to the French
King Louis VI. and himself so experienced in war, so fond of crusades, that only his death prevented him from embarking on his own cruise.

After the Second Crusade, the popes also repeatedly called for new crusades, ' J7- § , i i6ö, i i6q, probably atich 1173.
only a small echo. And one year after the massacres of the
Third Crusade {VI f45 <.) stood before the Fourth - the intermediate stage of Henry VI's large-scale and well-organized but unsuccessful crusade {p. 3o ff.), which, in addition to the conquest of Jerusalem, had also conquered the Byzantine
goal had.*

And now, after the pilgrims had spent the winter in Zadar, they moved against Constantinople. They attacked - a welcome pretext
- in the capital in favor of the Byzaritan pretender to the throne Alexios (1'\i) Angelos, son of the Emperor Isaac If, who had been overthrown and blinded by his elder brother Alexios IH. Angelos - later the third Alexios will have the eyes of another emperor, his son-in-law, plucked out (p. gs): a tried and tested procedure in Christian ruling houses.

Father and son had been imprisoned after the seizure of power by Alexios III. He had been imprisoned by Alexios III, a usurper with whom Pope Innocent had been in contact for years - admittedly in vain - and to whom he offered a protective alliance against the German Empire at the very beginning of his accession to the throne, but only on the condition that the Byzantine would submit to the Roman Church and send an army to liberate the Holy Land, whereby the pope repeatedly threatened the emperor.

However, the pretender Alexios managed to root on a Pisani The saint's ship fled to Rome to Innocent and later to Philip of 5chwaben, the husband of his sister Irene. The Holy Father abec, who favored Orto IV at the time, gave evasive, hindering answers, but refused to assist Philip's Byzantine brother-in-law and only used the pretender to the throne as leverage against the reigning emperor Alexios, on whom he wanted to force the church union, the reunification under papal leadership. He threatened to promote the nephew and his dethroned brother Isaac, but turned usurper against the pretender.

In Zadat, Prince Alexios promised the crusaders and Venetians a great deal of money in return for winning Constantinople, the re-establishment of church unity, i.e. the Patriarchate of Constantinople being placed under papal sovereignty, as well as help in further crusades, xo ooo Byzantine soldiers. And in May i zo3 an agreement was reached on Corfu.

Although there was fierce resistance to this, and Simon de Montfort and the abbot of Les-Vaux-de-Cernay even left in disgust, the supporters of the project predominated among the bishops and abbots - to all appearances; King Philip's support was particularly hard on the German lords and clergy" tKretschinayr). For everything fitted in only too well with the expansionist Oriental policy of the West, with the anti-Byzantine crusade sentiment, especially as this was also camouflaged with the advocacy of the rightful Eastern Roman dynasty and the bulk of the army was apparently supported by the enormous accumulation of

relics and riches in Constantinople. The schismatic Greeks, it was said, were no longer worthy of these treasures, the richest relic treasures in the world. -These shrewd and shrewd, business-minded men worked on Alexios ... and cajoled him to give them an oath, which he could not possibly fulfill. They demanded an ocean of money, and the childish wretch nodded to it, they also demanded Roman arms aid and fifty three-oared ships to fight the Saracens, and even worse ... apostasy and the acceptance of Latin doctrines, the renewal of the prerogatives of the pope and the abolition and reorganization of ancient Roman custom, and he also pledged himself to this" (Nika Chonisres).

In fact, they sailed towards Constantinople via Durazzo and Corfu with the young Alexios on board and finally entered the Sea of Marmara.

-like a wide carpet-, writes Geoffroy de Villehardouin,

-The fleet covered the narrow arm of the sea". The conquest of the city of It'7 J• i i zo3, during which Emperor Alexios flI. fled with the state treasury, brought the Princes Alexios IV and his

Scholten's father Isaac returned to power (coronation as co-regent on August i ao3). However, under pressure from the population, their relations with the Westerners deteriorated and in January i zo4 they were again swept aside by an anti-Latin coup d'état. Alexios was strangled in February (- He squeezed his soul out of his body in this narrow, constricted way, as one squeezes a fruit stone, and sent it to Hades": Niketas Choniatesl, his father was murdered in the ker- ker, each by the successor - the well-known dynastic Christian tussle.-

. . . AN UNHISTORICAL MURDER - AND A DE CEN T CREATION

But the new usurper, General Alexios V Dukas Murtzuphlos, son-in-law of Alexios Iß. Angelos and representative of the anti-Latin movement, a clever and bold, in

The crusaders standing outside the city walls had nothing to expect from the new government. And as the new government refused to pay qoooo silver marks for the departure of the besiegers and to grant apparently unacceptable privileges, the Franks went all out. They wrote off Egypt and the Holy Land to the wind and agreed instead to wipe out Christian Byzantium, whose metropolis lay so invitingly before their eyes from Galata, a suburban quarter on the opposite bank of the Golden Horn.

In March, they decided to found an empire within the Eastern Roman state. At the instigation of the Doge, who had everything firmly under control, they distributed the coat of arms in advance, but not in vain, established the successor empire - officially entitled "Romania" - together with its constitution and on April i z. stormed the city from which Alexios V had fled, then, on the orders of Alexios HI, his father-in-law, with whom he had sought reconciliation, blinded and finally thrown to his death as a blind man by the crusaders on Tauros Square from the sixty meter high column of Theodosius - Christians among themselves. {The final act, by the way, was directed by the almost blind Dandolo, who at least wanted to enjoy the fall of the empire acoustically, so to speak, if he couldn't see anything.)

Constantinople, which had proved to be impregnable for over five hundred years, was also weakly defended and in a poor defensive state. As a result, it quickly fell into the hands of the Cranes.

ken who climbed the walls on in. April, apparently the first to climb the walls were the men of two ships with Bishops Nivelon of Soissons

and Garnier of Troyes on board, whereupon the banners of the prelates flew on the towers. On April i 3, Iz4 8-when, surprised by the course of events, they entered the city, which was now behaving as chevalieresque as it was Christian. "For three days there was indescribable murder and looting- {H. E. Mayer).

The fact that the robbery and manslaughter campaign fell on Holy Week of all days seems to have particularly stimulated the activity of the Knights of Christ - after all, the capture of Jerusalem also culminated on a "Friday" and at the end of the week, when Our Lord Jesus Christ allowed himself to s u f f e r the death of the cross for us, the Catholic Church was in the midst of the Holy Week.
sword mission (VI3 8o ff.!). In Constanrinople, however, Christians raged against Christians for far worse than a quarter of a century.
thousand later i q y t, the Turks.

Now, so-called houses of God, Christian churches, went up in flames at the hands of Christians, or were turned into silent ones (as in the zo. In the 19th century in Belarus, in Serbia under the Croatian Usta3a murderers, but then on a colossal scale - progress). The Christian inhabitants were robbed and slaughtered, the colonists alone killed about - sooo people of all ages and sexes" (Kretschmayrl out of revenge. Girls and nuns were violated, boys were sold into slavery. Almost the entire Catholic West was involved in these, as it was soon called, "glorious deeds": Venetianeq Pisanel; Genoese and also many from all over Italy, Hungary, Germany, Gaul and Spain came to their aid" {Otto von St. Blasien).

The multi-volume handbook of church history has a lot to offer for all the

"glorious deeds", for the "plundering and bloodshed" of the Fourth Crusade, just four lines! And the likewise multi-volume lexicon for theology and the churchl›997) tells us in its
a report on the crusade movement and crusades, on the
• conquest of Constantinople and the Fourth Crusade, only one and a half lines, merely stating that it was "derived from the clarified goal".

What discreet historiography!

R E Lf Q UI Ef f- NSTSCHÄTZ E WECHSE L1'd D IE BES ITKER

The probably largest and richest city in the world, for centuries the center of Christian civilization, was overtaken by works of art from classical antiquity, the Byzantine Ara, and overflowing with relics from Old and New Testament times.

Neiri, what rarities there *were*! Truly far-flung& ex- ponates of Heiisgeschichte: the staff of Moses, for example, the table of Solomon, the inkwell of Pilate. According to the chronicler Robert de Clari, a knight and eyewitness from Picardy who presumably returned home laden with relics, there was an extremely valuable source of great 'human interest':

"Pieces of the True Cross as thick as a man's leg and as long as half a clafier; and there was found the bit of the lance with which Our Lord's side was pierced, and the two nails which had been driven into His hands and feet . .." Count Balduin von Plaudern was even able to bring a few drops of Christ's blood near his castle in Ghent. There were also images of Christ and Mary, not made by human hands (Acheiropoieta), the portrait of Jesus not made by hands (Mandylion), the belt of the Mother of God or her robe, the most significant relic of Constantinople, with its numerous churches, the city of the Mother of God.

The Chronicle of Novgorod, written by a Russian traveling through Constantinople at the time, gives an idea of the pious and artistic approach of the Franks in the Ha- gia Sophia, Justinian's great basilica, for which the emperor once an-

had paid 3 zo ooo pounds of gold {II37*). They smashed it up and stole everything that seemed desirable to them: twelve silver pillars of the choir, twelve altar crosses, stole forty chalices, and stole a hundred and fifty gold coins.

a precious table with precious stones, countless silver candelabra, altar leaves decorated with icons, an altar cloth, a missal, "forty censers of pure gold and everything they could find in gold and silver, including vessels of inestimable value, in the cupboards, on the walls and on the walls.

places where they were kept, so that it would be impossible to count them. All this in the church of St. Sophia alone; but they also plundered the church of Sainte-Marie de Blachernes ... and many other buildings outside as well as inside the walls, and monasteries whose number we cannot tell and whose beauty we cannot describe.

The chronicler Gunther von Pairis, a Cistercian of Pope Innozenz tim i zoa, commissioned to preach on the Fourth Crusade, reports in his "Historia Constantinopolitana" about his abbot Martin and his greed for relics: -And he dipped both hands into it eagerly and covetously, and vigorously aproned as he was; he filled the puff of the cowl with the holy church robbery." Laughing, the spiritual bandit brought his booty to the ship and obviously had every reason to be amused, for the robbery included a trace of the Lord's blood, a piece of the true cross of Christ, a not insignificant part of St. John, an arm of St. John, and a piece of the Holy Cross. St. John, an arm of St. James, a foot of St. Cosmas, a tooth of St. Lawrence, relics of another 8 male and 8 female saints as well as remains, mostly pieces of stone from 6 holy sites.

Now such holy and most sacred devotionalia were self-evident. They were, however, considered fragile, genuine and highly venerated, were, so to speak, unique treasures, not least tremendous magnets for the pilgrimage business (cf. III, chapter 3!) and for this reason alone an intolerable cult competition. But whether art or relics, all this has now, to put it nicely, been given over to "cultural dismantling" (Kupisch), destroyed without restraint in a very short time, bartered away for horrendous sums or dragged off to the seats of consecrated and unconsecrated lords of the West, -neither churches nor monasteries were spared, not even libraries- (Kawerau). The most exquisite manuscripts fell victim to the Western brigands; only a few dramas by Sophocles and Euripides survived. The Hanseatic -(Duby) ruined the city more brutally than the caliphs or Turks h a d ever done in the Orient; Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire never recovered from this blow.

recovered {SChubart). The Venetians are said to have systematically removed the most expensive items from churches and palaces and enriched themselves beyond imagination. But every man of even some rank gained a fortune.'°

The plundering frenzy finally took on such forms that the army commanders ordered the loot, from which the Venetians were also to be repaid their debts, to be collected in three churches and an abbey. And never before, notes Robert de Clari, the simple knight and eyewitness, in his eloquent report "La Conquéte de Constantinop1e", written in old French, "never since this world was created has there been so much Gur, so beautiful and so splendid, neither seen nor conquered, neither at the time of Alexander nor at the time of Charlemagne, neither before nor after". Indeed, Chronisr assures us that the forty richest cities in the world did not contain as much wealth as Byzantium alone. And when it came to stealing and plundering, Robert de Clari emphasizes, it was precisely the leaders and overseers who set a bad example, taking "the golden jewelry and whatever they wanted ... and each of the rich took either gold jewelry or silk cloth, and whichever he liked best, he carried away and gave to the generality of the
Army was not given any of this, nor even the poor knights or
the Fufi soldiers who had helped to win it " ."

And isn't it, when it comes to money and profit, the same throughout the centuries? Even today?

E 1NE NUT ON THE U N D E R I A RC H E NTH RO N D O F T H E E U N D E R S C R I P T I O N

THE NI KETAS - AND THE Gr N2 E

" N O N E M A L SO SC H LEC T *

(JESU IT H ERT r ix c)

The Crusaders, French and German knights, ruined hundreds of irreplaceable works of art. They robbed the most magnificent treasures of gold, silver and precious stones. They costumed

themselves and their

Horses from Jiix with Byzantine robes even turned pictures of Jesus and saints into armchairs and stools for their comfort. Many of them also paraded the Greek women they had raped around like trophies, drinking and eating all day l o n g . One evening they set fire to the eastern part of the city, whereupon the flames completely engulfed the district next to the sea - as well as other d i s t r i c t s , high churches, magnificent palaces, fashionable shopping streets, men, women and children perished in the fire, fantastic lllu- minations, and already the third major fire in the city by the pilgrims - a firestorm that reduced more houses to ashes than the three largest cities in France.

But when people came with crosses and icons of Christ, when the- When Christians appealed to Christians, the knights of the Lord became even more enraged, hurling away icons and relics, throwing Christ's body and blood into the dust, stealing horses, stealing money, dismembering, distributing the entire church treasury, dragging away gold and silver on mules and stabbing slipping animals while still in the cathedral, writes Niketas Choniates, the eyewitness {who was able to save his family thanks to Venetian merchants), money, dismembered, distributed the entire church treasury, dragged away gold and silver on mules and s t a b b e d slipping animals in the cathedral, while a whore, "a dunghill of sin", bawled on the patriarchal throne of the saint and church teacher John Chrysostom {Goldmund). *

The end of Constantinople, which shocked the world and is still reflected in the history books of the Chinese, is perhaps most shocking in the outcry of Nicetas, the emperor's secretary and keeper of the seals, historian and theologian.

{gest. i**71› whose outstanding historical work is the most important source for the in. and early 13th century: Das Unheil

came over every head. In the alleys there was weeping and wailing, the streets were filled with lamentations and howls, cries of woe sounded from the churches, men sighed, women screamed, everywhere people were abducted, enslaved ... They took everything from everyone, money and goods, houses and clothes, and did not even let the rightful owners use anything. Yes, those were the men with the brazen nak- ken, the boastful spirit, the raised brow, the always youthfully smooth cheeks, with the bloodthirsty right hand,

the wrathful nose, the proudly raised eye, the insatiable kiniiladen, these were the men who, even more difficult

who carried the cross on their shoulders, who often swore a false oath on this cross and the Holy Scriptures that they would pass through Christian lands without shedding blood, not deviating to the left, not turning to the right, because they had only armed their hand against the Saracens and only wanted to color their sword with the blood of the destroyers of Jerusalem, these were the men; who had vowed not to touch a woman as long as they c a r r i e d the cross on their shoulders, because they went as a consecrated band in the service of the Most High! O my city, my dear city, Aug-

apple of all cities! World-famous, transcendentally beautiful, sublime city! Nourishing Mother of the Church, Mistress of the Faith, Wise Woman of Right Doctrine, Custodian of Knowledge, Home of Beauty -'*

In addition to the western knights, Catholic bishops, abbots and monks also took an active part in the storming and sacking of Constantinople, in which several thousand Greeks perished, including the Bishop of Halberstadt, Konrad von Krosigk, who donated his valuables, relics and similar rarities to his cathedral as the "mother and teacher" of bismuth in the year x ao8 - because everything must be legally regulated and neatly organized. Or the Cistercian abbot Martin from Alsace, who was also involved in this conquest and brought a very large part of the life-giving cross and other relics of the Lord, together with many other relics adorned with gold, silver and precious stones, to the fatherland, thereby ennobling the whole of Germany and Alsace over the mafia". Robbery ennobles, that is clear - it only has to be big enough! Jesuit Hertling also found in his "History of the Catholic Church", written shortly after Hitler: "The whole thing would not even have been so bad from the point of view of crusade politics. In view of the hopeless conditions in the Byzantine Empire, and especially in relation to the terrible Comnenes, there could hardly be any question of right and wrong."'-

Yes, how different it was in the venerable occidental

Salvation history! And hadn't the "terrible Comnenes", just like the Angeloi, who were now so violently tricked, at least pursued a -traditionally Latin-friendly policy- (Carile)?

Dxs KURZ LEB IG E LATE I l'J I SCHE KA IS ERRE I CH UN D IE 1.AN G LEB IG E ° AD RIAT IC REDNESS**

But as enormous as the robbery of the Latins in Corisrantinople was, so gigantic that, according to Walter Zöllner, it "even eclipsed the Palestinian events of the year ioqq {cf. VI 38o ff.!}, what did all this mean apart from the robbery of huge parts of the empire and their distribution to a few hundred "crusader barons" in around 6oo "fiefdoms" (Partitio)? For the crusaders who, instead of taking Jerusalem from the "infidels", had seized Byzariz, now wanted to rule it too. And they did so until the Byzantine Michael VIII Palaiologos i z6i reconquered it with the help of the Venetians, who sought to outbid Venice for business.

Emperor of the new empire (official language Latin; rarely and only since Balduin II. French, which was, however, spoken at court from the very beginning) was dCf itT*-9 Mai i zod against his rival Boniface of Montferrat, elected on i6. May in the Hagja Sophia
Count Balduin of Flanders and Hainaut. He received a quarter of the empire's territory, but did not hold the strongest position and was not supposed to. He proudly called himself the -new Constantine-, pompously proclaimed to the pope -the glorious deeds" of the crusaders and attributed to him all the glory of the so divinely blessed business. The large remainder, which still had to be conquered, was divided between the other leaders of the Franks and the Venetians and turned into autonomous feudal principalities.

The Venetians, whose maritime expansion was also political history, founded a colonial empire in the eastern Mediterranean. It survived the fall of the Latin Empire as well as the four major naval wars with Genoa between the middle of the 3rd century and the end of the 19th century.

the end of the i9th century. The Venetians survived until the end of the i9th century and secured their commercial rule there until the i6th century, until the Ottoman invasion. The fact that, despite all papal efforts, they now also provided the Latin patriarch Tomaso Morosini from one of the oldest Venetian noble houses, the second most powerful man in the state, was of little importance in comparison. It is worth mentioning, however, that Tomaso Morosini was promoted to deacon, priest, bishop and archbishop in Rome in March izo5 within three weeks - "The mighty Pope, the most powerful man in the world, retreated before the Doge of Venice" {Kretschmayr} - and that the man thus elevated conquered Ragusa and Durazzo for Venice on his journey to Byzantium in the spring. What a start to a pastoral career! Although the Venetians were formally subject to the sovereignty of the emperor, they ruled the entire Latin Empire through their naval and financial policy, their monopolies. They also received yooooo marks of the official booty - worth around qooooo marks of silver - and half of the remaining three quarters of the empire. They also got hold of the most valuable items from the "cultural dismantling", and they were able to get their hands on so much that one could say: -nearly a tenth of the art collections, which later made up the treasury of St. Mark's Church in Venice, came from this looting {Bosl). In short, the Maritime Republic, which also obtained three eighths of the city of Constantinople including Hagia Sophia, was the main winner and, due to its ruthless lust for power, was probably t h e most indebted to the Byzantines, whose bishop Eustathios -the insidiousness of these land and water slaves- malicious Adriatic toads.

INN O ZEN2 lll. AND TH E G O V E R N M E N T S FnUtuRE OF tHE Vi ERT CREU2ZU GS

Pope Innoze "z had initially received the pretender to the throne coolly (p. qj) and, despite his generous promises, did not engage with him any further, but rather launched a crusade in his favor.

rejected, even banned in spring i zo3. He had distrusted the pretender's assurances that he would always be obedient to Rome and, if possible, unite the Greek Church with the Roman Church, and also distrusted him as the brother-in-law of his enemy, the Hohenstaufen Philip. And last but not least, Innocent did not want the crusaders to be distracted from their actual goal, did not want the crusade to be "misused" for a dubious purpose (every crusade and every war is of course a misuse), especially as the crusading army had already been led to Zadak, the property of the Catholic Hungarian king, at the instigation of Venice.

However, the turn against Byzantium had also taken place against the Pope's declared wishes; once the city was in his possession, he was delighted and overwhelmed by the acquisition that had so surprisingly fallen to his church, which the Lord had also permitted and thus willed. Certainly they did not have the coveted Jerusalem - but Byzantium was in many respects rather more; the prerequisite for the Catholicization of the Orient, even if the accompanying circumstances were not always the most honourable. For example, Innocent initially forbade the attack on Byzantium as a distraction from the liberation of the "holy starches", reprimanded the crusaders and even imposed ecclesiastical penalties, but quickly lifted them again after he was vowed obedience. After all, he had first declared Morosini's unauthorized elevation to patriarch null and void, then approved it and appointed him.

And now the late Polish emperor of Constantinople, Bal- duin I, who of course had already d i s a p p e a r e d without a trace, announced his coronation

-for the glory of the Roman Church and the liberation of the Holy Land- and also held out the prospect of the subjugation of the Greek Orthodox. No, Innocent saw in the case of Byzantium, this -civitas diu profana" {long already desecrated city), now a kind of divine urreil, almost a miracle - the expressions of the miraculous accumulate magnifies miracula; mirabile; pro tanti miracuĺi novi- tate). No, not a coincidence, non casu fortuito", he wrote to the Hee- resklerus, -sed alto quidem consilio Dens hoc mysterium per ve- strum ministerium operatuq quatenus de caetero sit unum ovile et nuns pastor"; no casualia thus, but a since eternities

The "mystery that the high counselor of God revealed in the service of the crusaders, so that in the future there would be a sheepfold of Christ and a shepherd.

Truly, the Lord himself, Innocent let Emperor Balduin know in November i 4, had transferred the empire of the proud, disobedient, schismatic Greeks to the humble, obedient, Catholic Latins. And Theodore I Laskaris, who, having fled to Asia Minor, developed a Byzantine successor state in Nikaia as Byzantine Emperor { i roy-i zzt), which was finally recognized by the Latin Emperor Henry, was told on ry. March i zo8: the Greeks were conquered by divine decree. Because they had refused the union and support of the Holy Land, they had rightly lost their empire to the Franks. Although the crusaders were not entirely blameless, it often happens that God punishes the wicked with the arm of the wicked."

Really: the ways of the Lord, they were wonderful again. After

According to ancient custom, however, Rome never left the important things to the Lord alone. Rather, the main curial interest in Latinized Byzantium was to transform the Greek priests "into compliant instruments of Roman rule, into imperial officials, so to speak".

However, only the smaller part of these clergymen played along.

The

Others, if they did not leave voluntarily, were fired, expelled and replaced by Western churchmen. Not a single leader of the main churches could be won over by Rome; Latins moved in everywhere, who then, encouraged by the Pope, did everything they could to subjugate the Orthodox bishops, abbots and priests. If they obeyed, they had to swear a double oath, contrary to common practice in the West, one to their Latin superior and the other to the Pope. And even if the pope did not want to enforce obedience or the Roman rite - only after repeated insistence, and only if necessary, according to the papal directive, the recalcitrant should be deposed and banned - in practice, coercion was not so rare (it was even and especially in the sub- ity much closer to Rome) .

lia frequently). And even according to Alois Knöpßer's "Lehrbuch der Kir- chengeschichte" (with imprimatur), the union was carried out by force. Newly founded "orthodox" monasteries of Cistercians and Franciscans had to support the Latins.

In addition, several of the Pope's I-egates pushed for union negotiations. Not only was the Greek empire to become Latin, but the Greek faith was also to become Roman.

Cardinal Benedict appeared first, but for all his skill and concessions in matters of rite, he did not make much headway; all the less so as he, unusually conciliatory and moderate, still engaged in religious disputes with the &who then claimed victory every time and stuck to their faith Later, the Cardinal Pelagius of Alba- no, a native of Spain who was supposed to finally subjugate Rome, achieved even less despite or because he simply closed the churches of the obstinate, barred their doors and had his brothers in Christ immediately bound, imprisoned and even threatened with death.

Meanwhile, the oppressed Greek clergy was supported by the Latin princes, especially by the second emperor of "Romania", Henry (i zo6-i a i ö), the brother of the missing Balduin, against their own church, the pope and his bishops - not entirely selflessly. The new crusader state had confiscated large parts of the Orthodox Church's landholdings, up to x z xo almost all of its property; but the princes preferred to keep the dues to be paid to the Latin prelates themselves - a rather self-willed, downright unruly church policy, the like of which the West had not seen for a long time. Cardinal Hergenröther also reports that the emperor, who even enjoyed respect among the Greeks

" iai6 was poisoned-.

The fierce Byzantines had not forgotten the atrocities of the Westerners. Westerners were extremely hostile to them. The majority of the simple clergy refused to obey Rome, and the people did not want to know anything about a church union, a papal rule.'-.

As great as the success (apparently) was, it was not so great again, especially with regard to the intended church union. Even within the Latin Empire there were considerable deficits, most Greeks remained schismatics or became schismatics again. This was even more true of the rapidly emerging regional Byzantine successor states of Epirus, Nicaea and Trebizond. The stronghold, however, and the head of the Oriental Church, Constantinople, Rome's rival throughout the ages, now saw the popes humiliated, in the dust before them, and Innocent did not hesitate to claim, despite the facts (cf. pp. io3 f.), that this change had not been brought about against the will of the papacy, but solely by the papacy.

IN S *PANI* EN: CRI EC E AGAINST "U x c TAUB IG E" A N D G L A B I L I TY

On the Pyrenean Peninsula, Muslim Spain fell victim to the Christian Reconquista more and more from the High Middle Ages onwards. Or, to put it more beautifully, according to the church historian and archbishop's spiritual advisor Knöpfler: "For Spain, the heyday of Christian heroism now began, which was heightened to almost insurmountable enthusiasm by the enthusiasm for the Crusades, which blew through Europe in ever new fervor.- And here, too, the popes increasingly interfered with equally massive lies and warmongering (VI a6o f., q8z ff.).

After all, the earliest crusades outside the "Holy Land" were conducted in 5 Spain. There, Innocent was able to build on the activities of Gregory VII and others. Or those of Urbans II, who agitated against the Moors, who placed the Jerusalem Crusade and the Reconquista on the same level and therefore gave the Christian warriors on both theaters of salvation the same indulgence. Similarly, the popes in the first half of the iz. In the same way, in the first half of the 18th century, the popes repeatedly granted the same indulgence to the Muslim fighters on the peninsula, which they also granted for the battle of

around Jerusalem. War against pagans, whether here or there, was now considered the same to them.

However, more than any of his predecessors, Innocent emphasized the papal supremacy over the Sparii and Portuguese. The Holy See regarded all parts of Spain as its fiefdoms (Handbook of Church History). King Peter II of Aragón, not without reason marked by the epithet el Católico, demanded the death by fire for -heretics- in the country as early as i i q 8 and hurried i zo4 perslinlÍCh to the Pope to make himself liable to him. In return, he hoped - his main concern - for protection against the advance of France to the south and help against his own great powers. As the Christian states of the peninsula were also at odds with each other, and some, such as León or Navarre, were at times even at odds with the Almohads, Innocent threatened them with banning and interdict; -He "stubbornly" called for concord and peace - as in the Reconquista - {Handbook of Church History) - in order to then foment a great war, "independently, the soul of resistance" (Johannes Hollnsteineq with imprimatuf).

The campaigns themselves were not led by Peter el Católico alone, and not without success, as he was assisted by the Templars and of course many priests. -Peter II's army included the metropolitans of Tarragona and Narbonne, the bishops of Zaragoza, Agde and Barcelona, as well as many priests and clerics, some of whom carried quite powerful commanders with them at their own expense, such as the bishop of Barcelona, the knightly Berengar de Palou, who was followed by go horsemen and iooo men in five. The abbot Ferdinand of Montaragón, a brother of the king, led part of the Catalan-Aragonese army into battle, which was fought at Ubeda in the year i zin and ended with a decisive defeat for the Moors {Vincke).

Wherever Innocent was able to do so at the time, he either intervened or did not intervene in the Pyrenees peninsula. For example, when Alfonso VIII of Castile, a monarch who tirelessly fought the Muslims, occupied Navarre, the pope did not utter a syllable of protest, because King Sancho VH of Navarre {el Fu- erte, the Strong), oppressed by the invasions of the Coni

of Aragón and especially of Castile, with the Almohads against whom the Pope called for war."

In general, Alfonso VIII of Castile {I i§8--**4), who sought to comprehensively control the Reconquista, created outposts and fixed expansion areas, was very much after the Pope's heart. For decades he fought against the Almohads and, as the old nobility began to become unreliable, he promoted the Minche and the knightly orders of Santiago and Calatrava, which became increasingly important. As early as i zo6, the king planned a major campaign against the Muslims and concluded alliances accordingly. In the next battles, however, he was not very successful and even lost the castle of Salva- tierra, a landmark and at times also the seat of the Order of Calatrava, which had already attacked the Moors in i y8 under Abbot Raimund, after changing "war luck" and numerous conquests of enormous goodness; many castles, many privileges were won and until iris

-The company remained a noble pension institution in the 19th century.

The Pope gave a second advance, a major attack, the character of a crusade. He had the war preached, with a particular echo in France, and propagated the holy cause in Rome itself.7• oOo soldiers marched to Spain, where there were also sufficient numbers of soldiers. money and the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo]iménez de Rada, was all the more fanatical in his call to arms as he had always maintained equally good relations with Kuric and the Castilian king, to whom he owed his entire career. The Crusader army gathered in his episcopal city in the early summer of i zin. There were riots hostile to the Jews, and in fact the kámps of Christ no longer got along with each other either. After the capture of Malagón and Calatrava, those from the other side of the Pyrenees left the Iberian Hee5, which admittedly also lacked many a native great; for example Alfonso IX, King of León, married for the second time to Berenguela, the heiress of Alfonso VIII of Castile: he used the crusade led by the Castilian prince to attack Castilian territory!

Nevertheless, the kings of Castile, Aragón and Na- VâfTã Em i 6 JulÍ 12. ra won a gÍorious victory over the emir Mohammed al-Nasír

a t the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa: deu hitherto

The victors' booty was enormous, and as a souvenir, so to speak, Alfonso VIII sent Nasir's silk tent and his flag to the pope, who sent them to St. Peter's Basilica. Nasir's silk tent and his flag to the Pope, who exhibits them in St. Peter's.

Ferdinand III el San- to, King of Castile since i >*7 (although neither the nobility nor the cities wanted him) and, since•*3 , also King of León, did much of the rest of the work. Married first to Beatrix (called Elisabeth/Isabella), daughter of Philip of Swabia, then to Joan of Ponthieu and Montreuil, with whom the canonized i7• fathered a total of•3 children. An analogous potency is demonstrated by the saint {Fest i 3. Juflİ) on the Schłachtfeld. After the defeat of Las Navas de Tolosa, he drives back the weakened Arabs one by one. i z36 er-
obert er Córdoba, --44 *-4 rjona, Priego, Jaé-. **4 e¥İ1)H Of course, the saint does not want any bloodshed, he wants
"always only peace-, he does not fight for the enlargement of his own kingdom, iiein, -for God's honor", weifi in any case Lud- wig Donin in his multi-volume standard work -Leben und Tha- ten der Heiligen Gottes oder: Der Triumph des wahren Llanberis in allen Jahrhunderten. With an indication of the most excellent historical sources and practical application according to the most proven saints"; and of course: - Mit Genehmigung des hochwürdig- sten Fürsterzbischöflichen Ordinariates von Wien- - a true marvel in t h e running, which also reveals how Ferdinand
III. el Santo did this, namely: -In the year i zz ş Ferdi- nand marched against the infidels for the first time, and defeated them more by prayer and fasting than by many battles . .. He often spent the whole night in prayer before a battle and owed all his success in battle to God alone. The image of the Blessed Virgin Mary was always present with his army to awaken and revive the soldiers' trust in Mary's intercession. He wore a small picture of the Virgin Mary on his chest and when he went into battle, he hung it on his sarcophagus - and there he was at the head of his troops, Christians and Muslims alike.

witnessed, nor the -h. The apostle James rode on a white horse, like a knight in harness; nothing could be lacking.

The -unbelievers- were now forced further and further south, where the empire founded by the Nairid Muhammad I (iz3y-izy3) with its headquarters in Granada was able to hold on for more than two centuries, until the last remnant of Muslim power in Spain -4s- passed to Castile and thus into Christian hands.

falls.'-

THE KI N D ERERE U2Z U G, tHE xEiNER '3EvElEs TO BE SO LL

If Christendom is no longer reminded of the usual crusades, nor of the murderous run to the north-east, which was motivated by Rome's delusions of world domination and then - irony of history - collapsed in the Ottoman storm of the u. century, it certainly does not want to know anything more about a children's crusade, about that "wondrous event", according to the "Gesta Treverorum", "which was unheard of in allJ• hundreds".

Either one flatly denies, contrary to the sources, after all about fifty, that it was an intended crusade, an intended conquest of Jerusalem, seft 17 ** "-azerienhand, gcwesen and simply turns it into a planned Jerusalem whale trip, if not mere processions in the West. Or the tragedy is almost ignored, such as Herder's -Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche-. The y. Volume { i qq6) contains over two dozen word combinations with child - from the child Jesus to children of Gortes, children's funeral, children's Bible week, church bishop, etc. to children's worship, children's communion, children's pastoral care, children's blessing, children's baptism, etc., and even mentions the keyword: "children's crusade"; of course only with reference to the -Crucifixion Movement-. And there

then appears in the 6th volume (E997) again no longer as: -Kinder-Kreuz- zug" together with the year " i a i z" (which roughly corresponds to the shortest source: Anno i zi z: Fecerunt pueri

processiones: Breve

Chronicon Lirense). But a little little for a thick encyclopedia series and a macabre historical scandal. (The first edition of i9i4 only just managed to wring the following sentence out of it: "Shards of French and German children who wanted to go to the Holy Land perished miserably on the way.")-°

It has also been claimed that more recent research is inclined to relegate the *children's* traits to the realm of legend and to assume as participants more the rural proletariat, - poor persons on the margins of rural society - (Jesuit Raedts), -rather the poor and marginalized of medieval rural society, who sought to make up for the failure of the official crusades by divine commission" (K. Arnold). But even this is hardly supported by contemporary sources, even if it was always known that the child crusaders were composed of both men and girls as well as old men and young men (Annales **Spirenses);** that with the -pueri et ptielle" atich adults went, clergymen, no less excited or worse, "mali homines- . And Ulrich Gäbler would at least like to be able to refer to the French movement as "pilgrimages of a local character" and not as a "French children's crusade" or "children's crusade in France". Indeed, he flatly denies this grotesque process "the character of exceptionality", as it fits in with

-thus entering the world of medieval man".

The worse!

In any case, the phenomenon of madness was mainly recruited from children, from children of the Meuse region, the Rhineland, but also Bohemia, from ten- and twelve-year-olds without money and (according to all sources) without weapons; but chronicles even speak of infants (or probably only products of the pious people of God on the way). But while the Marbacan annalist - these foolish people without understanding - "these

The "foolish crowd" is castigated, while still - 95z Bernhard Ridder in the Children's Crusade - "a failed enterprise from the outset",

Görlich's "Kleine Kirchengeschichte" (Little Church History) still praises a few years later the "quite peculiar flowering of enthusiasm for the Holy Land". No one saw a little

He said that there was something great in it that made adults ashamed. -These boys," he said, "are a reproach to us." (Hitler could have referred to this *when he* himself began to chase children into the war, adolescents, some of them still inflamed when the enthusiasm of their elders had already died out. An apparition "unique in its kind", the Basel theologian Hageribach once said, which shows - how deep the after-effects of the earlier enthusiasm went and how the fire, which was close to being extinguished, still glowed under the ashes).

Seduced people also came to Rome, and the great pope drew the consequences. For, we read with the imprimatur of Bernard Guillemain, -their touching and deplorable attempt was a terrible reminder of order (!). Innocent III was *sensitive* enough to the suffering feelings of the people to understand them. A new crusade was immediately prepared-.*'

After all, this pope was driven to crucifixion throughout his entire career, even then, but at times the enthusiasm only gripped the world of children (Hagenbach). "Only children took up the cross with sickly enthusiasm" (Knöpfler), incidentally all of them children of the poor. Thus in the summer of i ziz Stephan from Vendömois, a shepherd boy, to whom the Lord showed himself in the form of a poor pilgrim, entered the Western smear theater equipped with one of the -Himme1s letters- so popular at the time, this time addressed to the King of France, who, however, was not to be taken in; rather, he sent the deceived young people home.

But other authorities hardly opposed it. "Neither the ecclesiastical nor the secular authorities opposed the procession (Gäbler). Stephan, acclaimed by adults, marched through the country in triumph, accompanied by elders, including clergymen, and allegedly, seduced by Bible legends, Christian legends, earlier penitential processions and similar absurdities, 3o,000 people eager for salvation joined him to seek "the cross beyond the sea". Anything that had not previously perished through hardship or bushwhacking fell into the hands of the

slave traders and on various ships. Two of them foundered at San Petro near Sardinia, and later Pope Gregory IX, a nephew of Innocent III, had a -Chapel of the Innocent Children- built on St. Peter's Island. The other innocent children ended up as brothel girls or in Egyptian slavery or elsewhere in North Africa. Frederick II hanged the shipowners.

A German children's crusade - there is talk, probably exaggerated, of ao ooo, even 3o ooo participants, mainly from the Rhineland and Lower Lorraine - set off at the beginning of July, lured by criminal promises, under the leadership of the Cologne boy Nicholas, who was highly revered by his followers. Sinking and heaving, they made their way up the Rhine, it was unusually hot, and smarter ones turned back in Mainz. But many died of heat, hunger and thirst before they had even crossed the Alps. According to Knöpfier's textbook, which sadly sees the "splendid idea" of the crusades as having become a "distorted image", around "ooo -mostly in forests and wastelands" met a "grisly end". The rest were tortured to Genoa; to get from there, not wet fufies, of course, to the Holy Land and conquer the Holy Sepulchre. For they hoped for a miracle from the Lord, a draining of the sea. However, as this did not happen and the sea remained strangely dry, most of those who reached Italy allegedly ended up in Mediterranean human markets and ended up miserable in the Orient· Some are also said to have appeared in Rome, as mentioned, but were not released from their oath. Others, it is said, even made it as far as Brindisi.

A sad remnant, as all sources agree, moved into the late fall across the Alps again, -deluded and confused-, like the -Annales Marbacenses. They went back barefoot and starving and became a laughing stock, especially as many young women were robbed and lost the bloom of their shame. According to the -Gesta Treverorum-, however, most of the boys perished:
"for those who had given them plenty on their way there, ga-
don't need anything on the way back".

4. CHAPTER

THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSIANS

-You should strive to destroy heretical unbelief in every way and with all the means that God will reveal to you, lnnocent III'.

-Vorwfirts, you belligerent soldiers of Christ! Do not oppose the forerunners of the Antichrist and strike the servants of the old serpent dead! Until today you may have fought for temporary glory: fight now for eternal glory! Until today you have fought for the world: n o w f i g h t for God!" Innozenc III.

• The real butcher of the Albigenses - Count vnn Hoensbroech on Innocent III'.

-Kill them all, God recognizes his own! - The papal 1-egate Arnald of Ciceaux and later Archbishop of Narbonne, the leader of the Crusade-

-What more can I say? The immediate invaders killed almost everyone, from the *1*-*c*---- to the elders, and then set fire to the city.
History of Albigensis

• Oen defenders of the **village,** more than i on, they tore out their eyes and cut off their noses. One of them was hit in a single eye, as he was mocked with
of our enemies leads the rest to Cabaret - Historia Albigensis*

Innocent initially did not want the crusade against Byzantium, the first major crusade against Christians, but then enthusiastically approved it. However, the crusade against the Western -Christians - is entirely and from the very beginning due to him, is entirely his achievement, and we cannot give him enough credit for it!

The so-called Great Church has always relentlessly fought against dissenting beliefs; in late antiquity only in public, only verbally through the vehement defamation of people who even then were considered less as sectarians; dissidents than as devil-servants; as representatives of satanic worlds {I a., 3., q. Chap.!). Since the 4th century, however; since one powerful, violent
was also dealt with by force, with exile, imprisonment, robbery and murder against non-Catholic Christians (cf. e.g. 1 449 . 4 q ff., II z57 ff., 38y ff., III i ff. and above).

Thus, until the early Middle Ages, the Lord's vineyard was miraculously cleansed. In Carolingian-Ottoman times, there were only a few heretics. While heresy was already flourishing in the Orient, there were hardly any traces of it in the West. Within half a century
Only four cases of heresy are known here between $_{S}7$ and tor 8, more random, unorganized episodes. Even at the beginning of the High Middle Ages, in the i i th century, only
small heretical groups gathered around a teacher, but already in various parts of Europe, especially in northern France and Flanders: not really sects, hardly formed yet, but characterized by the complete rejection of meat-eating, sexual intercourse and the ecclesiastical sacraments according to all contemporaries*.

THE FIRST M IDDLE LY RUNGS
" HERETICS * ARE BANNED

The farmer Leutard from Vertus in Champagne is regarded as an early example of a heretic around the turn of the millennium, who, citing the Bible - as if he were carrying out the separation on the instructions of the Gospel - leaves his wife, destroys the cross of the village church, talks his followers out of paying tithes until he throws himself into a well, exposed as a "heretic" by Bishop Gebuin II of Chilons-sur-Marne.

Around two decades later, a more Gnostic group from the upper class, the intellectual milieu, was condemned at the so-called Synod of Orléans (iozx): People from the nobility and clergy, lay people, canons, teachers from the cathedral school, nuns, even Etienne, the former confessor of Queen Constance of Arles, who even now, as royal as she is Catholic, pokes his eye out with a stick. These people reject baptism and communion, ordination to the priesthood, mass, t h e absolution of 5 sins, marriage, meat-eating, church buildings and the p o w e r o f t h e b i s h o p . To the claim that Christ's resurrection really happened, they reply: "We were not there, and we cannot believe that this is true:
-What is against nature is never in harmony with the Creator.
fer."

The prelacy assembly degrades and condemns them in the presence of King Robert II. -King Robert II, "the Pious" {who can heal wounds simply by laying hands on them and striking them on the cross), condemns them to the stake - sadly famous as the first heretic execution at the stake in France; two of the (according to Radulf Glaber) i 3 victims, a cleric and an i' ton, abjure and thus escape death. However, as was often the case with the religious liquidation of rivals that was now beginning, it was not only rheological and speculative reasons that played a role; in this case, for example, conflicts between the Capetians and the House of Blois as well as between the Cluniacs and the secular clergy. (The corpse of a man who had already been dead for threeJ years at the time and who
"Heresy-accused canon was dug up again

and thrown onto the Schindanger in accordance with episcopal instructions -
a desecration of the dead that is practiced again and again).

In Arras, a similar but more rigorous heresy was condemned, whose apostles came from Italy. They rejected an abundance of the most sacred Catholic rites, from baptism to burial by a priest on consecrated ground, as well as all kinds of church trinkets, incense, bells, altars, not least the Holy Mass, a vile negotium for them, a -dirty business-. Instead, they wanted to live from the work of their hands and for "righteousness" (justitia).

A little later in Piedmont, t h e r e w a s the noble "heretic" circle around the Monteforre castle near Turin, which condemned private property and sexual intercourse and did not even enjoy meat, and which Archbishop Ariberr II of Milan burned at the stake in ioz8
sent (VI *39)- Ifl Germany läät Emperor Henry III, -the pious bringer of peace- (Chaplain Wipo), on the holy Christmas feast anno io5o -heretici- probably from Upper Lorraine in Goslar hän-
because they were reluctant to kill a chicken or chick as a sample.

• 1 7 l i3. century, the refusal to kill an animal or eat meat was then usually eradicated by the Inquisition - with axe and stake - as proof of heresy'.

It was only in the first half of the i century that heretical episodes increased and larger "heretic" movements appeared, the Tanchelmistae, Amoldistae, Eunitae, Petrobrusiani, Henriciani etc., named after their founders. The leaders were aggressive reformers who insisted on change and who, as itinerant preachers and ecclesiastics, sought to reconnect with the -vita aposto1ica- and -ecclesia primi- tiva". Some resorted to physical violence, tearing down crosses and burning them. In many places, they agitated the "orthodox", but were not particularly dangerous to the church. Nevertheless, all of them were mercilessly rendered harmless - even though there were no uniform criteria throughout the i--J• century.
riencies for recognizing -heresy- nor certain standards for
their punishment. During this period, the ecclesiastical curia avoided all the time any fundamental statement.

One of the first of these agitators, some of whom became Cathar supporters, was a certain Tanchelm (Tanchelinus). He appeared in Antwerp, where a parish priest who was supposedly still serving in the city's only church was still cohabiting with his niece. There, in Flanders, Zeeland and Brabant, Tanchelm gained a large following, probably more from the lower classes, Christians who drank his bath water. He surrounded himself with a bodyguard, called the church a brothel, demonized the degenerate clergy, the hierarchy, sacraments, the demand for tithes, demanded a poor clergy and was r i i 5 killed by a priest. St. Norbert (VI Register), himself an itinerant preacher for a time but "miracle-working and peacemaking" (Elm), and St. Evermod, "apostle of the Wends", then put the
-restored ecclesiastical order. And -the blessed Waltmann completed- the eradication of heresy in Antwerp" {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche).

Around i i i y, when Tanchelm was slain, two peasants from the Soissons region, Clemens and Ebrard, proclaimed a doctrine that betrays Bogomilian influence. They lived a strictly ascetic life, propagated the vita apostolica, but also docetism, according to which Christ was only seemingly man, bread and wine were not really his body, but his blood, and recognized as vividly as accurately and across the ages that the mouth of the priest was the mouth of hell. They were dragged from the dungeon outside the city and burned to death.

Another "teacher", Peter of Bruis (Bruys), himself a priest from the high mountain region of Embrun, preached, apparently also influenced by Bogomilian ideas, from around z i o his numerous followers, the Petrobrusians, in southern France. He rejected infant baptism, the Eucharist, the Mass, pastoral foundations for the deceased and, as a radical biblicist, only read the Gospels. He fought against the Old Testament, the letters of the apostles and the interpretations of the church fathers. He declared churches to be useless, demanded that no more be built, that existing ones be torn down; one could just as well pray in a stable, in a barn. He repeatedly burned crosses in public, a kind of happening - "Christ's wood of martyrdom", until

It is disputed when he himself was set on fire at Saint-Gilles Abbey (near the mouth of the Rhön).

Eon of Stella (Éon de l'Étoile), probably from Breton Adel, another itinerant apostle, in whom some still see a Druid, a Carthaginian, a sorcerer or even - avant la lettre - a communist, recruited a peasant heec to build the churches of Brittany. to plunder him. He was captured and i i4 8 brought before the Synod of Reims presided over by Pope Eugene III (VI Register}. He allegedly pretended to be the son of Gotre, perhaps to save his life, was declared mad to the laughter of the prelates and condemned to lifelong imprisonment in a monastery in Saint-Denis, where he soon died. The Bishop of Saint-Malo, Jean de Chatillon, had his followers hunted down mercilessly and, as far as they c o u l d get hold of them, burned.

Even where the monk (or deacon} Henry of Lausanne, an expert on the Bible and a powerful orator of unknown origin, appeared in Lausanne, Poitiers, Bordeaux and Le Mans, he spread unrest and raised expectations, especially as he also wanted to free marriage from the bonds of the Church and successfully campaigned for the marriage of harlots. As a rabid anti-clerical, who denied any benefit of the clergy, he also called for a boycott of corrupt, rich priests who were not sold food or anything else and who were said to have been beaten up.

Imprisoned by the Archbishop of Arles i i 35 and brought before the Council of Pisa, he had to abjure. However, he escaped imprisonment in a monastery and continued to preach, always radically, in the Midi, winning over many believers, so that fewer and fewer Christians entered the churches and more and more were missing mass. i3q the Lateran Council cursed him again, and finally Bernhard of Clairvaux and the papal legate Cardinal Bishop Alberich of Ostia systematically agitated against him and all "Henricians". Henry was forced to flee Toulouse, but was captured again, where he disappeared this time, probably dying like Eon of SteÏla.'°

DIE " N OVI HAERETEC I - DI E H EAU FKUN T OF THE CATHARS

The Cathars first became a popular movement and a real threat to the Great Church hierarchy in the course of the tenth century. They had already made a strong appearance by the end of the eighteenth century and first appeared in western

Europe - -4i 'n Cologne, a circle with its own bishop and its own organization. They called themselves the Poor of Christ and professed to live according to the example of the apostles, without a fixed abode,

to move from place to place without possession and pursued - like sheep among wolves". They deny marriage, refuse to consume milk or the products of procreation. They claim to be the only true church and, because they do not cry out, are burned along with their bishop.

The action had no effect. Exactly two decades later, in i63, in August, "Fandrische -Ketzer", including two women, were reduced to ashes outside Cologne. (Women were sometimes

and xwap by no means in very isolated cases, second they resisted the lewd wishes of the clergy and wanted to preserve their chastity": Grundmann). Around the same time, about thirty "German" "heretic" missionaries from Flanders or the Rhine region were also sent to the stake in England. And in 1183, the Archbishop of Reims also burned so-called heretics - many, including nobles, commoners, clergy, peasants, virgins, women and widows, were condemned by the Archbishop.

{of Rheims) and by the Count {of Flanders) to death by fire; their property was transferred partly to the bishop and partly to the count.

The persecuted, however, became more and more popular. By the middle of the x zth century, the heresy had spread from the Rhine and Liège to the southwest of France, the Périgord, as far as the Pyrenees and, towards i6o, also to northern Italy, making it one of the Cathars' main areas of distribution in addition to southern France In short, the - novi haeretici- had become international. However, they had not only grown in size, but also in strength and cohesion, even developing into a counter-church.

The name Cathar {katharoi, -the pure-) for "heretic" first appeared in the West in i63 ituf - and grotesque enough, but indicative of the Church turning everything upside down, that from the name "the pure" it formed the concept of the opposite, of the impure, belleck, evil, satanic. The Cathars themselves usually called themselves -Christians- {christiani) or -true Christians", "Good Christians", "good Christian women", "good people" (veri christia- ni, boni christiani, boni homines). Indirectly, they probably go back to late antique Gnosticism, to Manichaeans (cf. 1 i 66 f.), which St. Pope and Doctor of the Church Leo I - the Great - fought so brutally in the sixth century in conjunction with the Christian state (II z64 ff.!} that Manichaeism disappeared in the West in the course of the sixth century.

Perhaps the Cathars were also linked to the Messalians (Euchi- tians) or the Paulicians, possibly a filiation of the Manichaeans or followers of the Apostle Paul. In any case, the Crusaders destroyed Pelagonia, a fortified city {castruml in Macedonia inhabited by Paulicians, and killed the heretics.

But the Cathars certainly come straight from the Bogomils. In the io. Founded in Bulgaria in the Io. century by the priest Bogomil, probably from Macedonia, the "greatest popular heresiarch of the Middle Ages" (Runciman), Bogomils were soon to be found in Byzantium and parts of the Byzantine Empire. They initially emerged as a purely popular movement, born out of immense economic hardship, an obvious consequence of the feudalization process following the Byzantine occupation of Bulgaria and the tremendous oppression by the emperor and the clergy. Churches and monasteries regarded them as "front courts of the devil" {Griguleviö).

The theology of the Bogomils, presumably developed in Constantinople, was, like that of Cathafism, strongly dualistic and reached back via late antique Manichaeism and Gnosticism to the ancient Iranian prophet and religious founder Za-. rathustra. The Bogomils rejected the Old Testament, the veneration of the cross, relics and icons, the images of the Virgin Mafia, and condemned the

the sacraments, the liturgy, the places of worship and the entire clerical hierarchy, the wealth, the immorality, the fornication of Catholics. They rejected marriage and sexual intercourse; they abstained from eating meat and all food resulting from sexual copulation, but were also moved by unmistakable social impulses that were probably stronger, or at least more original. Thus the later xo. Thus the priest Kosmas, who preached a "refutation" {Beleda) of the Bogoinilenrum in the later xo. century in the vicinity of the Bulgarian ruler: -They teach their people not to obey the Lord. They denounce the rich, detest the (Bulgarian) tsar, ridicule the elders and curse the nobles¡ whoever serves the tsar is detestable to them in the eyes of God, and they forbid all slaves to obey the command of their masters."

The Bogomils, who were zealous missionaries and were also prone to modest acts of violence, such as demolishing crucifixes and making tools out of them, spread rapidly throughout the Byzantine Empire and reached as far as Russia. Ever since Emperor Alexios I. Komnenos, a rigorous orthodox, condemned them to Z E IO by a court of senators and clergymen and had their leader, the monk and physician Basileios, burnt in the hippodrome for not abjuring his followers, they were persecuted in the East and w e r e also anathematized by a council convened by ßoril, the Bulgarian tsar (a pretext for eliminating political opponents); They were deported, imprisoned and their leaders burned at the stake. However, they were able to survive until the Tyrian invasion in the xy. Century, whereupon they largely converted to Islam. They probably reached the West, Italy and southern France with the crusaders, and were eventually equated with the ancient Manicheans and hunted relentlessly.

In the later i i th century, the Katharez separated from the Bogomils, whose faith is more New Testament and church-oriented, a "reformed" Bogomilism, as it were. In the course of the i a. In the course of the i a. century, Cathar churches con- stituted themselves on the

Balkans, in the Rhineland, in Flanders, Champagne, in the far south of France, which was not yet part of the French kingdom at the time, in Gascony, Languedoc and Provence. In the second half of the century, they spread as special ecclesiastical communities with diocesan members under quasi-clerical leadership, especially in the counties of Toulouse and Albi as well as in the viceroyalties of Béniers and Carcas- sonne, a triumphant advance among the bourgeoisie, the chivalry and even parts of the clergy.

*In the third century, Catharism was the most powerful "heresy", the largest "sect" of medieval Christianity in general. movement. According to the best estimates, the Cathar share of the population fluctuated between a quarter and a third, but these were undoubtedly "the religiously sensitive people among an indifferent, indifferent majority" {Ehlers}. It was no wonder that all beliefs and opinions could coexist, relative tolerance prevailed and even class differences seemed to have almost disappeared.

At that time, the Cathar bishoprics of Toulouse, Carcassonne and Agen were founded, and there was soon a Cathar bishop in almost every major city. Cathar itinerant preachers missionize in Italy, where they are also called Patarenes (- "Patarini"), missionize in Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, the Marches, even in the Church State; they penetrate as far as England and Spain in the eighteenth century. At a time when Cathars were already writing their own books - with a few exceptions lost or destroyed - they also formed dioceses in Italy in Bagnolo, Concorezzo near Milan, gradually a center of Italian Catharism, in Dcsenzano, Florence, Spoleto. There were fourteen of their dioceses in France and Italy alone, plus others in Bosnia, Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire. In the late xz. The Albanensez, named after a place or a person, the Concorezzensep after a village between Milan and Monza, the Bagnolenseq after its center Bagnolo S. Vito near Mantua.'-

What attracted people was not so much the faith of the Cathars as their lives, above all the personal example of their leaders, a not inconsiderable proportion of whom came from the nobility, at least the lower nobility. Before the crusade, no less than 35 percent of the -perfecti known by name were nobles, including 9 percent women. Of course, the men by no means only had religious, but also very tangible material motives, which particularly affected the church, which was adamant about its property titles, especially its demand for tithes. On the other hand, large parts of the clergy, especially the episcopate, were very familiar with what had become the

The families who were related to -heretic- converts shied away from serious confrontation or did not even think about it. Parts of the upper middle classes, especially the rich merchants, also tended towards Catharism, if only for the sake of a "true conscience". And the poor ascetic "heretics" had the sympathy of the miserably fleeced people almost from the outset.

CATHOLIC THEO LO G Y AN D H 1ERARCHY

The Cathars, who considered themselves the successors of the first Christians, often differed greatly in their creeds, which led to Albanians and Concorezzensians being mutually accounted for {only one was a Christian). In the middle of the i 3rd century, the Dominican inquisitor Ranieri *Sacconi,* initially a Cathar himself {later collaborator and successor of the murdered inquisitor Peter of Verona), lists i6 different groups, which he calls -ecclesiae Catharorum. However, despite all the theological variations and the different regional and temporal forms of the denominations, there were fundamental similarities.

The Cathars appear as the "poor of Christ" (pauperes Christi}, as • apostles of Christ (apostoli Christi), see themselves as the one and true Church of the Lord, the Church of God (ecclesia Dei), and represent an obviously Gnostic-inspired dualism.

They believe in the existence of two opposing principles, one good and one evil. It is a belief, but a moderate one and a radical one. The moderate one assumes a primordial principle (monoprincipialism), to which an originally goodq but unfaithful Son of God or angel, who has fallen away from God, joins as the creator of the local, transient world. Radical faith assumes two eternal, interdependent primordial principles (diprincipialism) and places a %cial God, the devil, on an equal footing with the good God from the outset. This radical dualism, which above all explains the existence of the devil in the world by blaming Satan alone for the visible, earthly creation and absolving God of responsibility for it, is known by the majority of Cathars, who also do not tole- rate a "middle way" in cultic and moral terms.

The Cathars traced their community back to Christ and the New Testament. They valued the four Gospels, especially the Fourth Gospel, but also Paul's epistles. Of course, they reinterpreted many things, as did all Christian Bible users, including the churches. They did not see Jesus as a redeemer, as someone who had come to redeem people from their sins, as someone who had "become flesh", who had died on the cross and ascended into heaven. They did not consider him to be the Son of God, the second person of the Trinity or a real human being, a material creature. Rather, they saw in him an angel, a messenger from heaven, a messenger of God, since Mary was not the mother of Jesus for them either, but likewise an immaterial being who only appeared outwardly as a woman. They valued Jesus' message, not his being.

They denied the existence of an otherworldly hell, but believed in the transmigration of souls, whereby the chain of rebirths in different bodies was a kind of hell for them. They rejected most of the Old Testament and were particularly harsh in their rejection of all the critical mumbo-jumbo of the Catliolica, including the veneration of saints and relics. They considered the images of the church to be

-idolatry, the bell-ringers called them the trumpets

the devil" {Historia Albigensis). The sacraments also appeared to them to be a service of Satan.

Of course, they themselves again had a sacrament, a rite of initiation, the -consolamentum- {consolation, reconciliation), which played a leading role. It meant a kind of baptism - not with water (they detested John the Baptist as one of the "supreme devils": Historia Albigensis), but with light (gnosis, knowledge) -, meant confession, penance, absolution, confirmation and ordination, but could also be compared with the Catholic last rites. When the angels fell, it was taught and believed in this myth-ridden world, every fallen angel had become a human soul in a human body, but their immaterial body remained in heaven. The consolamentum brought about the reunification with the heavenly body of light and was always intended to spare further re-embodiments.

The Cathars naturally detested the hierarchy of the Catholics, although they too had bishops, spiritual representatives
(filius maiop filius minor) with the right of succession. These leaders, the "perfecti" and -perfectae-, the "people of the people" - as they were only called by the inquisitors, not by themselves - who probably came mainly from clerical and religious circles, were obliged to strict asceticism.

They ate only bread and water three times a week and during special periods. They never consumed procreation products: Meat, eggs, milk, cheese (but fish, which were thought to come from the water). They strictly abstained from fornication, blood disgrace, any form of sexual intercourse, so-called perversion, including marriage, which as a "jurata fornicatio", sworn fornication, was even a particularly fatal misstep as a quasi-public offense. They not only condemned all violence, not only military service, not only emergency aid; not only all killing, but the exercise of all power, since for them all earthly power came from the devil, which has a lot going for it, much more than the opposite, the Pauline doctrine of authority. And even if their believers, such as the warriors of the Counts of Toulouse or Foix who sympathized with them, plundered and destroyed ecclesiastical property, they did not want to be the first to do so.

never was such a thing initiated by the Cathar clergy or approved.

This elite was therefore the source of the movement's particular fascination, its real pulling power. The majority of the followers were mostly peasants who highly revered their leaders, almost regarded them as saints, wanted to be redeemed themselves, but lived as before, with a very communal lifestyle, especially adapted to southerners, who also conducted their marriages, feuds and wars, and were occasionally even rich and state functionaries. Before the pogroms, their pastors were always dressed in black and went around in pairs of the credentes-distinguished by the "melioramentum", an honorific. Women were also allowed to preach and discuss theological issues. The -melioramentum- was the

-They were on an equal footing with the "perfect". People lived in monastery-like buildings, in men's and women's houses. Everyone prayed a lot, especially the main prayer, the Lord's Prayer.

But - isn't that already a development alla cattolica? Did it come Despite perhaps fewer social differences, did this not also lead to a class society and hierarchy? After all, there seems to have been social differentiation in the convents, for example between craftsmen and wealthy burghers. And these, as well as established aristocratic circles, occupied leading positions, at least in the heyday of Catharism - while the first Milanese Cathar bishop, Mark, was a gravedigger from as far away as southern France. The "perfect", like the Roman clergy, were also exempt from certain taxes and received certain material assets on the death of their faithful. The Cathar Church, whose perfecti so condemned the material world, was already well established in the early i3rd century through donations. In fact, it had considerable financial assets, which were preserved and purposefully expanded {Werner/ErbstöBer). It was used to protect against persecution, to finance escapes, to procure information and to buy the freedom of captured Cathars.

They were all united in their condemnation of the Catholic Church, its never-ending lust for power and the moral corruption of its clergy. The Cathars called them to account in public disputes.

The Catholic theologians admitted that "there is not a single passage in the entire New Testament that requires priests to live more lavishly than princes ...". For even if Cathar theology was hardly a real provocation for the dogmatically protected large church clergy, none of the -heretics - leaders of the time, even if they came from monastic circles, The decisive factor was the contrast between the Protestant doctrine, the apostolic poverty and the empire of the ecclesia, the greed and brutality of its clergy, even the high ones, which was evident to everyone. -Many bishops only visited their dioceses to collect arbitrarily imposed church taxes and kept an army of highwaymen for this purpose. The disorder ting the piety was indescribable. They fought and excommunicated each other" {Rahn). But it also happened that sick bishops were nursed by Cathars and "tolerated that entire monasteries converted to them.

In short, the progress of heresy and the resulting threat to the Catholic clergy can be traced back primarily to the clergy themselves, which the late medieval papacy thankfully even confirms. Honorius III thus attests to the priests,
-They have become corruption and a snare to the nations", Alexander IN confesses, "because the people, instead of being improved, are completely corrupted by the clergy". -They rot like cattle in dung-, again a golden papal word from the i 3rd century, in which no less a personage than Innozønz Ifl. laments before the Lateran Council: -The corruption of the people has its chief source in the clergy. This is the source of the evils of Christianity: faith dwindles, religion declines, freedom is shackled, righteousness is trampled underfoot, heretics multiply, schismatics grow bold, the infidels strong, the Saracens victorious! -

For this reason, however, Christians outside the Catholic Church saw in the Church itself, in its feudalism, its pomp and ostentation, only the Whore of Babylon, the earthly manifestation of Satan. Yes, for the Cathar Church, the "true" Church

Christ and the poor, the Catholic Church could only be the Church of the devil, the Antichrist - in the Middle Ages, of course, even in Catholic circles, a commonplace (Madaule). The Roman church was denied any legitimacy from the time of the first Christian emperor at the latest, when the church of the persecuted became the church of the persecutors (1 i 63 ff.!, I *47 ff.!).

The church, on the other hand, which generally likes to call heretics -rusrica-

rii-, "rustici-, -idiotae et illiterati", without considering t h a t priests and scribes were once also called apostles -idiotae et sine literis-, defamed in particular the Cathars as

-cancerous ulcer on her mystical body, as -Satan's disciple",

"Delusional iris pest", and told them, according to an already old Christian tradition (i.e., the view that someone who sleeps with his mother or sister sins no worse than by sleeping with another; also the opinion that "from the navel downwards no one can sin" {Historie Albigensis). This is what it says about the "unbelievers called the heretics": "Even if they go and come to another, and he (Lutzifer) preaches to them, and so he preaches out, he takes the most beautiful thing of all and has his will with it, And with that, if they extinguish their love, one thing is added to another, and one man to another, and one world to another, as it were, every man must see with his eyes that his world or his daughter is another heretic, whenever they see that a man under the belt may sin without sin; They are in the faith." The early scholastic and Cistercian Alanus ab lnsulis (Alain de Lille or de Ryssel) derived the name Cathar from ca- tus, cat, the symbolic animal of Satan, and because they kiss his foot when he comes to their meetings as a black cat.

An excerpt from Gregory IX's bull of June 3, 1133 may show that the popes (not only) of that time believed or at least passed on every kind of nonsense and thus made countless others believe it. The highly learned nephew of Innocent III, friend of St. Dominic and especially of St. Francis of Assisi, states that

a. o. from:

-When a newcomer is admitted and first enters the school of the rejected, a kind of frog appears to him, which some also call a toad. Some give it an ignominious kiss on the buttocks, others on the mouth and draw the animal's tongue and saliva into their mouths. Sometimes it appears in natural size, sometimes as big as a goose or a duck, but mostly it takes on the size of an oven. As the novice continues on his way, he encounters a man of marvelous pallor, with completely black eyes, so emaciated and gaunt that all flesh seems to have shrunk and only the skin seems to hang around the bones. The novice kisses him and feels that he is as cold as ice, and after the kiss, all attachment to the Catholic faith disappears from his heart except for the last trace. After this, one sits down to the matie, and when one rises again after it, a black tomcat the size of a medium-sized dog descends backwards and with its tail bent back through a statue, which is customary in such schools. First the novice kisses it on the rump, then the master and immediately all the others in turn, but only those who are worthy and perfect ..."

-After these negotiations, the lights are extinguished and they proceed to the most abominable fornication regardless of relationship. If there are more men than women present, men also satisfy their shameful lust with men. In the same way, women also transform natural sexual intercourse into unnatural intercourse through such intercourse. But when this immorality is complete, the lights are lit again and everyone is back in their places, then a man emerges from a dark corner of the school, such as these most depraved of men have, shining above the hips and brighter than the sun, as they say, below "but rough as a tomcat ..."

Which brings us back to the cat, which, according to scholarly positive interpretations, is becoming more and more negative in Christianity, especially for the demonic, lustful, sexually orgiastic

also stands for the woman, and which the "Hexenhammer", for example, calls the -permanent symbol of the unbelievers-.

Now "-cathari" and "-haeretici", -heretics -, are often used synonymously, which indirectly promotes the -career of the devil" {Segl) in the following centuries. And soon the devilry reaches a climax in the crusade against the Albigenseo -^

II E A LB IGENSER - ACCORDING TO THE BRE N N UNG **WELL-DOING** AND A **FIRST** CRUSADE

The Albigensians are first attested in sources around xx3y in the Toulouse region, where they appear among the followers of Peter of Bruis and Henry of Lausanne. The term "Albigensians" also became common in the south of France at the end of the 15th century. It is probably derived from the city of Albi in Languedoc, north-east of Toulouse, one of its oldest bishoprics, where the Cathars were particularly widespread from the in. The name became common both for the Cathars of Languedoc and for -heretics- i n general.

The religious and moral teachings of the Albigenses were generally based on all the norms that applied to the Cathars. They assumed a radical dualism, had the "consolamentum" as a sacrament, bishops as leaders, believed in metempsychosis, in incarnations after death in humans or animals, abstained from carnal food, did not eat eggs, milk or cheese. In their ecclesiology, the theological doctrine of the Christian church, they differed from other Catholic groups, which they rejected like the Catholics, but they helped each other against the Inquisition.'*.

The mission of the Albigenses took place in public. It came " -7o even to the Council of Saint-Félix-de-Caraman, at which the perfecms Niketas, summoned from the Balkans, contributed to the victory of radical dualism, even if the Italian Cathars

reintroduced the common dualism. The Cathar elite went about in their familiar attire in full view of everyone, public meetings were held and disputes arose between Albigensians and Catholics.

Of course, the papal church, whose churches were quite empty from the middle of the i th century onwards and whose priests are said to have been despised everywhere, had long since taken up the persecution of "heretics", but by no means systematically. Nothing was uniformly regulated in this respect, neither the suppression of heretical dogmas nor the punishment. People were exiled from the city, the bishopric, excommunicated, deprived of their property, imprisoned and burned at the stake as they saw fit. On
At the insistence of the ASt of Vézelay, many Albigenses were burned alive in the presence of several bishops in the valley of Ecouan in• 7 , appropriately enough on the holy feast of Easter. Occasionally there were
However, some clerics were also disconcerted by the contrast between the way in which the chief shepherds dealt with the apostates and the teachings of the Gospel. It is said to have happened, for example in Castelnaudary, that Catholics and Cathars shared the use of the main church.

In the years i i *6zl i i63*, however, the synods of
Montpellier and Tours condemned any promotion of heresy and demanded its elimination by the secular authorities. And then Pope Alexander III brought some system into the matter - after all, Christian evil (as well as many other things) originates from above, no matter how much one would like to reverse it again and again! The once so celebrated Bolognese jurist, the "first great legal scholar on the papal throne" {Kelly), not only *called* for a crusade against the "heretics" for the first time at his Third Lateranum in '79, but also formulated the fight against them as a general church law and guaranteed all these crusaders a two-year reprieve, indeed -eternal salvation- to anyone who fell. He excommunicated the counts of Toulouse and Foix, who smelled of heresy, as well as Vice-Count Roger 11 of Albi, Béziers and Carcassonne and many barons. He also threatened the ban for contacts with them, for their helpers and demanded the confiscation of goods as well as the confiscation of property.

such as the use of armed force, which particularly applied to Cathars and Albigensians {VI 3q).

In the same year as the Council, the Cistercian abbot Henry of Marcy traveled to the south as papal legate to prepare a kind of crusade against the Carthaginians in Languedoc by means of a preventive campaign, and in the spring of I I8I, having risen to become Cardinal Bishop of Albano, he led it. Although the holy cause went well with only moderate participation, it left behind, as an eyewitness on the papal side, Bishop Stephen of Tournay, testified, "a desolate country far and wide", "destroyed villages and towns, a picture of death".

Alexander's successor Lucius III, in agreement with
At the synod in Verona {i i8¢), the Cathars were also named in the relevant decree -Ad abo- lendam diversarum haeresum pravitatem", alongside Waldensians, Hu- miliates, Arnoldists {the partisans of Arnold of Brescia). The "heretics" were to be ex-communicated, condemned to "perpetual dishonor" and handed over to the "secular arm" {VI5 qi f.), as were all those who had committed them.
favored or defended. But that was not enough. The bishops were now
The church was obliged not only to persecute known heretics, but also to track d o w n undiscovered heretics once or twice a year, to investigate suspicious communities themselves or through confidants, and to hand over suspects to the authorities. Even the cemeteries had to be cleansed of the contaminated bones of the ab- trunes. At this synod, the emperor also imposed the imperial ban on heretics, which r e s u l t e d i n exile, confiscation of goods, destruction of their homes and other expressions of Christian charity.

However, as devastating as these resolutions are, time and again
Christians, on the whole they had little effect. For this reason,

Innocent III, the -actual butcher of the
Albigensians" {Count von Hoensbroech), to go the whole hog. Probably as
As the first pope, he consciously placed the -heretic--hunt and the idea of crusades at the center of his pontificate. -Certainly -, writes Guillemain with Imprimatut; -the resumption of the

Crusades was one of his great plans. From the time of his enthronement, he was preoccupied with it, and without hesitation he asserted all his authority with the princes for its {sic) realization. But even if the idea of hunting down dissenters dominated him from the very beginning, he had Slavic Cathars expelled there and from Trieste by the Archbishop of Split {Spalato) as early as the end of the iz. century (under his successor t h e r e w a s a "formal religious war" between Cathars and Catholics in Bosnia: I. von Döllinger), Innocent was undoubtedly too clever to proceed only with force, even with fire and sword alone - admittedly always the best missionaries of the Vicars of Christ.'°

Ergo, the cunning one operated not only with the help of the powerful and the rich, but also with the help of their victims, the exploited, the poor.

T H E" H EI MT O C K I N G, V E R T I O N A N D B E T R0 C ER I S H RO M " LEADS THE M SK E OF THE ARM UT

As one side became ever richer and the other ever poorer in the High Middle Ages, and the gap between the two became even more scandalous, an increasingly widespread return to the Christian era, to biblical tendencies towards mercy, the Protestant idealization of poverty and the poverty of the Lord himself began. Of course, this imitatio Christi was linked as ever to the sweet hope of the poor being exalted in the hereafter.

At any rate, poverty, the renunciation of worldly goods, even if one was not inclined to do so oneself, enjoyed great respect among the Christian people at that time. A poverty movement had already emerged in Europe in the i i th century, and even more so in the ra. Century with still growing misery. Through the practice of poverty, people wanted to and should orient themselves towards the old ideal of the vita apostolica, wanted to and should serve the renewal of the church and society. At the same time as such a church-reforming tendency, however

A strong economic-social component developed, the desire to break out of an unworthy ghetto, out of the overpopulated industrial cities; the associated communal political quarrels even benefited the "heretics", as they drew the attention of the bishops away from them or at least weakened it.

In this complex process, hegemonic currents infiltrated church-led poverty movements and vice versa. Alongside the negative reaction to the rich and powerful Catholica, alongside a harsh criticism of the clergy and the Church, indeed a decided hostility towards Rome, there was also the attachment to early Christian ideals, the "naked following of Christ". And so Innocent, the successor of the Poor Son of Man, sought to once again deliver his Good News for *himself* and to take up the oppressed peasants and small craftsmen in an -evangelical - way and integrate them into the church by incorporating them into monastic traditions. Every religiously derailed person should now be able to return to the golden Catholic path.

To facilitate this, the Pope now also tolerated itinerant preaching, the apostolate of poverty, and even sent out "poor" itinerant preachers himself, including Pierre de Castelnau. The future saint came from French nobility, had been a missionary in southern France since i iqq with the papal legale Rainer von Fossanova, became a Cistercian and was appointed envoy to Provence by Ifinocent in order to preach peace and strengthen the faith. Pierre de Castelnau was not even able to persuade the lax Archbishop Berengar of Narbonne to take active action against the Albingenscr. And in Toulouse, Count Raimund and the consuls refused to cooperate in any way against heretics.

For years, the curial actions had virtually no success - almost a matter of course, considering the appearance of these old legates in splendor and luxury and an army of servants. "Look," cried those whom they wished to "convert", "these people want to preach to us about our Lord Jesus Christ, who was poor and walked barefoot!"- Just as troubadours also called the -insidious, vcrrä-

The "terical and deceitful Rome" (Guilhem Figueroa) was widely unpopular and deeply hated by many.

Pierre de Castelnau and his accomplices I zO6 tried out a new method, at least for them. Advised by Blessed Diego of Azevedo, Bishop of Osma, who had just returned from Rome, and his subprior Domingo de Guzman, the future founder of the Dominican Order, they created a concept of the

•Heretic"-fighting, which was nothing other than the practice of the despised I'tonkurrenz.

It is worth mentioning in passing that St. Dominic later received a lot of money from none other than Fulko (Foulques) of Marseille for his task of preaching the word of the truth of the Gospel on foot as a religious in evangelical poverty. This bishop was once so behind the plai- sir d'amour as a troubadour that all his patrons left him, so that he had to make a "virtue" of the moth, become a priest, e n t e r the Cistercian order {along with his wife and two sons), become prior and already i roy, through Pierre de Castelnau, Bishop of Toulouse; instead of women-poets now -heretics--destroy. -Lenau, in his "Albigensians", says of him that he was "the church's spymaster and hatemonger", who had the following written about the city's new university: "It persecutes the wicked by the professor, by fire, by the sword." Ailein in Toulouse, a stronghold of heresy, is said to have killed io ooo heretics at Fulko's instigation.

People began to walk around in coarse frocks and without money, so to speak

poor like the apostles, to sweep the land. They came like the clergy of Cathareq, preaching in their way. "They are men of proven virtue," Innocent praised his new propagandists on iq. November i aoö his new propagandists, -followers of the poverty of Christ, the Great Poor. They are not afraid to seek out the misbelievers in humble garb and with fervent zeal in order to snatch them away from *l'ttum* by the grace of God through the example of their lives and the wisdom of their words. The legate's arrogance and harshness alone made him a liability; he gained neither the sympathy of the prelates nor popularity.

The Count of Toulouse, Raimund VI (- - 94 --z), -prince and head of all heretics" (Caesarius of Heisterbach), against whom Pierre de Castelnau, full of zeal for - peace", turned
inn April I Z 7 *of his excommunication. The lands of the count, father of the king of France, brother-in-law of the king of England, brother-in-law of the king of Aragon, were interdicted, and the pope confirmed this in a letter dated
*9- MaÏÏ Z- 7 SO: - To the noble Count of Toulouse. What pride has taken possession of your heart, you leper. You are constantly at feud with your neighbors, defying the law.
of God and take on the enemies of the true faith. Tremble, wicked oneq for you will be chastised. How can you protect the heretics, cruel and barbaric tyrant. How can you claim that the faith of the heretics is better than that of the fathomless. You have committed other offenses against God: You do not want peace, you feud on Sundaysø and you rob the kÍösten of Christianity sur disgrace, you bestow public offices on Jews. Our legates have excommunicated you. We confirm their accusation. But since we have to convert sinners, **we** order **Dig Bufie** to do our gracious absolution. Since we cannot leave your offenses against the Church and God unpunished, know that we will have your possessions taken away from you and that we will incite the princes against you as an enemy of Jesus Christ. But the wrath of the Lord will not stop there. The Lord will crush Dish!

The Pope's envoys also excoriated princes of the church, suspended lax archbishops and bishops - the shepherd of Vence even lived peacefully with a **woman** at his side - and replaced them with sharpshooters such as the wealthy Genoese merchant Fulko of Marseille.

But even Piefre de Castelnau was fed up with what the Dictionary of Theology and the Church calls the "papal missionary work" and wanted to return to his monastery. Innocent brusquely refused: - Stay where you are! In a city like this, action is better than contemplation!" So he stayed and was arrested in mid-January i zo8 on the right bank of the Rhòne on the way to Arles.

stabbed to death with a spike because, as the Pope put it on March io. March izo8 somewhat rashly, -built on the rock of Christ with unflinching firmness and was therefore not on his guard against such great treachery-, which s h e d s a strange light on the rock of Christ. However Innocent proclaimed his sacrifice; the hero against his will, on i o. March as a martyr and canonized him (feast of y. March, diocese of Nimes i y. March}. Of course, miracle after miracle soon took place in honor of this

-This "most holy man", "the man of God"; also the punitive wound that struck that "exceedingly cruel murderer", whom - even the dumb animals abhorred- -who really did not and do not count for much in Christianity. But at that time, it is reported "as truthful by many and honorable men, canons of the church in Toulouse - and all miracle reporters on the Catholic side and for the Catholic side are always truthful and honorable, we can read that a thousand and a thousand times - yes, at that time no dog would accept a piece of bread from the hand of the murderer of Gotresmann, "out of abhorrence of such a great crime. Oh, what a wonderful event, oh, what a thing not heard of for centuries!"

But not the only outrageous one in this "Sdche Christi", no. When the body of the holy martyr Pierre de Castelnau is reburied after a long time, he is found - as completely intact as if he had only been buried that day - (cf. e.g.43 ff.!), and of course the obligatory
"wonderful fragrance", as befits a true Catholic.
Blood witnesses heard.

T HE P RO CESS OF T HE ALDEN S ER

If Innozeiiz III was only partially successful with his itinerant preachers, his apostles of poverty, he nevertheless made more progress than his predecessors, who had not solved the problem of poverty movements.

The company tried to cope with this through disciplinary measures, especially the ban on preaching.

For example, in the decree "Ad abolendam", Lucius III i i8q had appointed Pe- trus Waldes from Lyon, a wealthy merchant and (according to

*7) Founder of the Waldenset; who in some people seems like a forerunner of Francis of Assisi, together with his "fratres- anathematized. Waldes has been on the run for most of his life since then and

-therefore died early" {Vinay). The Pope, however, punished with the ban not so much offenses against the Catholic faith as against ecclesiastical obedience, not only the highest virtue at that time for evil reasons. For the Waldensians - almost all poor, despised people, who for the Church, according to Otro Rahn in his poignant"

-Crusade against the Grail", - only existed to the extent of "controlling it if it was orthodox, or burning it if it was heretical" - the Waldensians were much less concerned with theology than with a simple life following Jesus and the apostles. As late as arino x zi 7, a well-informed source names the four main

Waldensian errors: the wearing of sandals in the manner of the Apostles, the prohibition of the oath and of the tomng of a man, finally the teaching that every member of the sect, if he wears sandals, can consecrate the Eucharist if necessary.

It was not dogmas or rites that were controversial, but the clergy's outrageous distortion of the Bible, their acts of violence, their wealth, their hypocrisy and lies. "The disregard of ecclesiastical violence - confirmed Bernhard Guy (Guidonis), the Do- minican inquisitoq in the Midi, one of the most brutal of the guild, in his handbook for colleagues - was the essential heresy of the Waldenses; for which they were also excommunicated and 5atan extradited ... - However, Innocent dealt with the Waldensians quite differently from his predecessors and so between i zo8 and i zio he was able t o lure most of them back into the church.

He succeeded in doing the same with the majority of the Humiliates, a group that emerged after 7o in Lombard towns, partly in monasteries, partly in

The lay society, a kind of workers' cooperative, lived in family

groups. Some things were left to them, others were allowed, such as church education, but especially preaching.

However, this was on the condition that they restricted themselves to moral issues and left theological questions to the clergy.

Well-known Waldensians, Durandus von Hu#sca or ßernardus Prim, who "converted", were allowed to continue living almost exactly as before as completely unconverted wandering apostles, except that they were now constantly
"heretical" Waldensians and Kaiharians. Durandus founded the Catholic Poor - 7 and Bernardus Prim i zio founded another pauperist group, both with the highest approval.
And in the meantime, a hundred Waldensian preachers applied for admission to the church, albeit with certain reservations; the outcome is unknown. Later, the majority of Waldensians no longer approached the Roman Church.

The Humiliates spread rapidly in Lombardy, Tuscany and Umbria, and by the end of the 3rd century there were around a zoo of Humiliate converts in Italy. Of course, they too were and remained insecure positions, they were despised and finally, as too critical, as heretical, no longer recognized by the church- 57* The male order was dissolved after a planned assassination attempt on St. Charles Borromeo - his pope. Charles Borromeo - his pope uncle Pius IV {father of two illegitimate daughters and an illegitimate son) had immediately made him a cardinal - was dissolved by Pius V; the order's property was given to the Jesuits, among others. The houses of sisters, the Humiliates, became extinct in the ig. Century.

Like the Waldensians, the Humiliates had also emulated the evangelical lack of need, but were also banned as heretics by Lucius 4 BlS. Innocent, on the other hand, also knew how to bind Francis and the Franciscans to Rome and to establish them in the Church, which gave the poverty movement a boost, but its critical impulses, however, considerably weakened the sense of the 5.

There were also serious conflicts among the "Pauperes Christi", the "Pan- peres Spiritu" (poor in spirit), and around i roy the Lyonese poor, the "Pauperes de Lugduno", who were aligned with Waldes, split from the "Paupercs Lombardi" (who did not reconcile with Rome). For the time being, Waldes and his followers adhered

to orthodoxy, as did the i zo8 and i zi o de-

The groups of the -Pauperes Catholici- order, confirmed by Innocent under certain conditions and initially, especially before the Albigensian Wars, eagerly promoted, with the Waldes disciple Durandus of Huesca (de Osca) at the head, and the
-Pauperes reconciliati". Both constantly instructed the "heretics", tried to "convert" them, often sacrificed all their possessions to the poor and thus won back quite a few Waldensians and Albi- gensians to the rich church. But they were unable to compete with the new mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans and soon ceased to exist.

For no sooner had the Pope completed his crusade than he could -After he had exterminated the "heretics" with fire and sword, his interest in the "Pauperes Catholici" waned. Already after iziz we hear almost nothing more of them. Instead, Innocent now powerfully promoted the Dominicanet; the bearers of the Inquisition - and I•44 forbade Inno
zenz IV, the "Pauperes Catholici" were forbidden to preach.

The non-screechy forest dwellers who lived in widely dispersed koiiventikeln were defamed, persecuted and burned to death.

The first example of a -heretical---ization was offered by Alfonso II of Aragon. He declared the Waldensians and all other dissenters condemned by the Church to be enemies of the state and ordered them to leave the country. Anyone who supports them, shelters them, feeds them, listens to their sermons is, like the expelled deprived of all his goods. Alfonso's ß. At the National Council of Gerona• • 9 7, Alfonso's son Peter II adds to these laws of his Varer - • in obedience to the canons of the Holy Roman Church" - the punishment of the stake for heretics was added.

In Strasbourg, where five hundred Waldensians were imprisoned, Bishop Heinrich first sets the Dominicans theologically on the "heretical malice" in order to defeat them through disputations. -But there was no one among the clergy to whom they could come, so they knew how to justify their actions with God's word." Thus 8o people, including i z priest
ster z3 Prauen and many nobles together in a Peuer3* in Pamiers, a poor old Waldensian woman was brought to the barn.

She was thrown into prison simply because she refused to take an oath. Apart from that, her faith was entirely Catholic. In the years -3i® and z) 4 *>1th,* the Regensburg cathedral dean Heinrich, as papal inquisitor, also brought a number of Waldensian women into the - as Catholics of the zo. Century rapturousi -

-Around the same time, a persecution of the Waldensians raged in Nuremberg, i y "heretics" fell victim to it. i jqz were burned at an auto-da-fé in Bingen 36, 1397 in Steyr about i oo Waldensians.

The Franciscans also made J-gd on them, occasionally allying themselves with %ubern. One source from the year i 38z by the papal Franciscan inquiSitor Francis:

-The *Girardo Borgarone,* a captain of zz robbers, is paid a price for the capture of some Waldensep to execute them, by order of Francis, the inquisitor of the order of the lesser brothers."

At that time, the Gallic Waldeiisep, especially those in the Dauphiné, were subjected to severe persecution by the Franciscan Francis Borelli. The victims were usually burned in Grenoble, i o from Val Pute, 8o from the perpetrators of Argentiere and Fraissiniere. A second persecution took place under Pope Pius II by Archbishop John of Embrun. The Franciscan inquisitor Johann Veyleti even had Catholics seized out of greed. Every day, he and his judges tried some people in order to seize their goods.

Another pogrom was led by iq88 Albert von Capitaneis, legate of Innocent VIII, the writer of the witchcraft bulls, who had become pope not without various bribes and took paternal care of the welfare of a number of illegitimate children, including by marrying them into famous princely houses. In those days, the Waldensians herded in high mountain caves and were burnt or fumigated by fire in front of the caves. Several hundred children are also said to have suffocated in their cradles or in the arms of their mothers, and more than 3ooo people died in total. There were still persecutions of the native Waldensians at the end of the i 5th and in the later i 6th century. In Hungary, too, in the late Middle Ages, people were still going against

they occur. In some areas, in Calabria and Provence, they were completely exterminated. "The Inquisition destroyed the Waldensian communities, one after the other, in all the areas it reached" (Vinay).

After the dreadful pogroms - 4 7*4 under the witch-bull Innocent, who called for a crusade, the persecuted in the Alpine region finally joined the Francophone Reformation.
and some Waldensians still live in Europe today, even in Florence, in Rome, also in North and South America.'-.

THE POPE SWEARS AT THE " GovT o ER RACH E ^ UN D BE Fl EH LT, ^ T H E G O V E R N M E N T

Innocent also wanted to win over the Albigenses rather peacefully at first, through preaching, emphatic letters and threats. For years, he sent them one mission after another without the slightest success, coming to their aid through so-called spiritual means "in this serious illness with his healing hand" (Hi- storia Albigensis). However, just two months after taking office, he had already decreed in letters to the prelates, the nobility and the entire French people that all heretics *who* did not belong to the Catholic Church were to be burned *and* deprived of their *bishopric*. And since neither the agitations of the Abbot of Clairvaux, Henry de Marcy, the future cardinal, nor those of his other representatives, such as the two Cistercians Peter and Raoul, who, discouraged but in vain, asked him to dismiss them, Innocent now resorted to naked violence against the Albigenses

He authorized i• 4 his legals, wherever heresy existed, to destroy, cast down or seize what must always be destroyed, cast down or seized, and to plant and build up whatever is to be built up and planted.
must". But in the middle of the zo. century, the re-

The renowned Catholic Joseph Bernhard in his book "Der Vatikan als WeÍtmacht-: -Innocent tried everything to peacefully overcome the counter-church, but his legates and the missionary work of the Cistercians failed miserably. Through their fault it came to a battle with arms ...-

It is always the same priestly tactic, deceiving the world by the end of the year, to incriminate even high authorities, orders, bishops, cardinals, at any time, if necessary, in order to be able to acquit at least the highest authority. -1nnocenz Ill. preferred to use all possible means, claimed another apologist, while he did everything he could to start a war.

In particular, he tried again and again to persuade France to make a break. He offered King Philip Augustus and the entire nobility a complete remission of sins and tempted the Catholic pöbeÍ with the prospect of absolution and pÍunditry. He thus encouraged the ruler to draw his sword and slay the wolves. He also authorized him to take possession of the territories that would not accompany him in his pursuit of the "heretics". But the monarch was in conflict with John Without Ireland (John Lackland), the English king, and the appropriation of his territories in western France was important to him. So one curial appeal after another was rejected. And even Peter of Aragon, to whom Innocent handed over all the conquered Harettic lands and ultimately all their possessions, could not be won over.'

In November xzoy, Innocent again warned the French, once more painting him the abomination of the Albigenses: "The long entrenched, corrupting heresy, which is constantly growing in the region of Toulouse, does not cease to give birth to true monsters, who spread their own madness to others and k e e p those despicable descendants of the damned alive and thriving.

The French potentate, who was already not very fond of the Pope, was outraged by his interference in his sovereignty and demanded a two-year truce with the Pope.

John Ohneland and the financing of the war demanded by the clergy and nobility. And Raimund, Count of Toulouse, protected the Albigenset, which is why Pierre de Castelnau excommunicated him after eq the legate, izoy brought about an alliance against him.'-.

However, the murder of the envoy by what is said to be a Rirtep servant, the count's squire, was blamed on the count himself, although there is no proof of his guilt and Raimund always vehemently denied any involvement in the assassination. The murderer w a s also never identified.

The pope, however, was convinced of the count's guilt, or at least pretended to be. For now he had a reason to wage the much-honored war, the first major crusade against "heretics" in a Catholic country. And he generously guaranteed to all those w h o , inflamed by zeal for the right faith, wanted to avenge the blood of the righteous, which constantly rested from earth to heaven until the God of vengeance descended from heaven to earth to destroy the overthrown and the overthrown, and to all those who girded themselves with manly bravery against these plague-bearers who were fighting against peace and truth at the same time ... a forgiveness of their sins".

Innocent iii promises this in a long letter dated io. March i zo8 not only once. Just as he repeatedly bets against "this great evil", "the plague of heretics", and in the same breath
"in the name of Him . ... who is a God of peace and love'-, incites: "You should then destroy the heretical unbelief in every way and by every means that God will reveal to you. And you shall fight their followers with a mighty hand and with a strong arm, and with even greater vigilance than the Saracens, for they are even worse than the Saracens.

No one was more driven to war, to destruction - a recurring word - than the Holy Father.

Neither the princes nor the peoples were particularly keen on this, as the "Historia Albigensis", the official chronicle of the crusade (p. iso ff.), clearly shows. "In order to keep the faithful

In order to make the peoples more willing to eradicate the heretical plague, the Pope sent letters intended for the general public to all princes of the Church, counts, barons and the entire people of France. to avenge-. And again he promises forgiveness of all sins. -What more can I say)" With this frequent phrase, the chronicler comes to the decisive point: -As soon as this abdication was proclaimed in France, a large number of believers armed themselves with the cross.

After the assassination of his legate, the Pope banned the Grafen of Toulouse, the murderer of the "Servant of God", together with his followers, released his vassals from their oath of allegiance and allowed everyone to take his land. He emphatically orders his -The Archbishops of Narbonne, Arles, Embrun, Aix and Vienne, together with their suffragans, on account of the unconditional obedience they owe to our commands", that they "with untiring zeal destroy heretical corruption and strengthen the Catholic faith by eradicating vice and planting virtue". Naturally, he also calls on the French king to go to war again, to quickly invade the county of Toulouse, and to destroy its inhabitants he therefore also seeks peace between France and England, an alliance between the two against Raimund VI.

The Holy Father, of course, now blows the whistle for an all-out attack and fully justifies the ßliit that is to be shed by equating heresy with the crime of majesty in Roman law. For now all that remains to be done is to avenge the injustice done to our God ... that the Lord of the heavenly hosts destroyed the exceedingly cruel murderers by his sent hosts. He had sent many of his preachers to the heretics and their protectors out of pure goodness and excessive leniency and out of compassion towards his enemies. But the latter had remained in their depravity and had *become* lost in their wickedness, mocking some of the preachers and even killing others" {Historia Albigensis).

Innocent demands the extermination of the "Godless-. Forward, you belligerent soldiers of Christ, march against the forerunners of the Antichrist and slay the servants of the ancient serpent! Until today you may have fought for temporary glory: fight now for eternal glory Until today you have fought for the world: fight now for God! ...-

At the same time, ep advises the Count of Toulouse to deceive, to pretend that he is much less targeted than the -heretics-, after whose destruction it would be easier to put him down. He invoked St. Paul for this deceitfulness: -Because I am deceitful, I have caught you with deceit- {a. Com i z,i6)

- a perfidious distortion, not to say falsification of Scripture, because Paul does not read this at all, but indignantly rejects such an insinuation by his **opponents.**

But the Count of Toulouse now loses his courage. He asks the Archabbot of Citeaiix for absolution and offers his submission to the Pope by courier. The pope deceives him again and demands the surrender of his strongest fortresses as security. Rai- mund hands over seven of them to Milo and is then flogged naked up to the belt by the pope himself in front of the church of St. Aegidius in Saint-Gilles in the presence of zo bishops. After swearing to exterminate the "heretics", to dismiss all Jews from their offices, to obey the orders of the Holy Roman Church in all things and to take part in the crusade, the legate released him from the bariri by papal order and he took the cross against his own people. Innocent then congratulates him in July i zoq, advises him of salvation in this world and the hereafter and at the same time, by the same courier mail, orders the legate Milo, the count's flogger, to harass him further, indeed, only two months later, since he has still not eradicated the heretics, he has him banished again and his possessions interdicted once more. Despite the French king's strong reservations, many lords and lords' servants responded to the Holy Father's call. In)uni iaoq, the lords gathered near Lyon - according to a uniform and previously established plan (Historia Albigensis), warriors came

from Burgundy, the Rhineland, Friesland, Hungary" from the whole of the West, ao ooo knights; over xoo ooo townsfolk and peasants, plus thousands of body-snatchers (truands), fornicators (ri- bautz) and whores in four-wheeled temples of Venus. Not to mention a few thousand priests, who raised the people of war to fanaticism.'*

As always in such cases, the -religious- motives of those who joined up were combined with greed, adventurism and a lust for murder. It soon became a war of the north against the south. The southern French, Catholics and "heretics" alike, who had previously lived together peacefully apart from the clergy, now joined forces to fight the aggressors. And towards the end of Innocent's pontificate, Count Raimund of Toulouse was deprived of almost all his lands; he was arbitrarily expropriated without any trial. Likewise other aristocrats of the Midi.*'

" THE TATE CHRI STI"

This "cause of Christ" {Historia Albigensis) was led by the Abbot General of the Cistercians, the papal legate Arnald-Amalrich (Arnaud Amaury), an irreconcilable fanatic who had been responsible for the Albigenses since rzo3/i zod. And as he and his comrades could not win them over with arguments, they resorted to violence, as power always allowed, especially as Arnald had already vehemently incited the **pope** and the French king against the heretics and their count, against this devil's servant - whom he then defended at the Fourth Lateran Council!

The crusading army marched from Lyon down the Rhone valley and on July za raoq stood before Béziers, capital of the Trencavel, a strong fortress that belonged to the domain of the young viceroy Raimund-Roger Trencavel. It was, writes the author of the "Historia Albigensis", the Cistercian Pierre des Vaux-de-Cer- nay, "a very famous city, but completely infected by the poison of heretical corruption". But the people of Bieters were

not only heresy, but also the worst robbers, law-breakers, swindlers and thieves, and full of every kind of depravity. But it would be tedious for the reader if we were to describe in detail all the wickednesses of the citizens mentioned.

The usual tactics of this crusade chronicler. First unbelievable accusations, then empty phrases instead of evidence. Here, of course, follows:

-A ghastly deed". The author accuses some citizens of Béziers of apparently assaulting a priest simply in order to pee in his chalice out of pure "contempt for the body and blood of Jesus Christ". The pissing action is not dated. It sounds like a fairy tale {it probably was}: -It happened once in a night ...- A n d "Another atrocious deed-, which he appends before eq as so often, -A miracle- is always- almost half a century ago.

As the town refused to hand over the -Kener--, it was stormed and the inhabitants completely slaughtered, everything from infants to the terminally ill elderly was killed by the -Ritrern Christi" (Historia Albigensis), no one was spared, not even the priests in front of the altars with their crucifix or the monstrance in their hands.

In the church of Mary Magdalene alone, seven thousand people are said to have been murdered on her feast day, July za, at least according to the official Catholic report. -Oh, what an extremely just measure of divine providence! - commented our monk. Had the burghers of Béziers, "those overly impudent dogs", killed their master, Vice-Count Raimund Trencavel I, in that very church and smashed the teeth of their bishop Bernard IV? But for a killed count and a few prelates' cenacles 7ooO murdered people not a bit much? No. For the Christian Catholic standard of our Cistercian sers, a count's corpse and a more or less lightened bishop's teeth were a "major offense", a "criminal act". The 7 oo sacrifice but the other {and not only the other! receive their just punishments in this way.

Settlement in Catholic.

And all in all, the orthodox slaughtered even zo ooo

People - not just heretics; as I said, Catholics too. Legate Arnald, who himself put the victims of his work to the Pope at almost twenty thousand, answered the question as to how the -recognize "heretics" (according to Cistercian Prior Caesarius von Heister-bach, about i i 8o - after I*4 1, the famous command: --Kill them all, God already recognizes His own!- Apocryphal or not, which better illustrated the shame.

Arnald-Amalrich was the leader of the company. And with the cry "God is with us", they plundered, killed and set fire to Béziers. - The bells melted in their towers, the corpses burned brightly and the cathedral burst like a volcano. Rending blood, burning dead, blazing city, toppling walls, singing monks, murdering crusaders, plundering gypsies ... This is how Béziers died, this is how the crusade against the Grail began ... - tOtto Rahn). And the Pope's legate, three years later Archbishop of Narbonne and, in the same year, participant in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa {p. ioq f.), - was responsible for the monstrous bloodbath, which he could have prevented in any case", et "the main person responsible for the atrocious carnage of Béziers, for the pyres of Minerve and Lavaur" {Madau- le). Yes, it was the venerable Abbot of Gteaux, confirms the -Historia Albigensis--, "who, after God himself {!}, was the most committed to the cause of Jesus Christ. But also involved: the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the bishops of Limoges, Basas, Cahors, Agen and Puy.

But the main culprit was the Pope.

In the meantime, Viscount Raimund-Roger and the numerous Jews of Béziers had retreated to Carcassonne, which was teeming with refugees, winegrowers and shepherds. With their animals and their poor possessions, they sought shelter in the heavily fortified town, once ruled by Romans, Gothic kings, Sultans and Carolingians, with its fifty towers, the castle of the viscount and several burgi in front of it. One morning in early August, all the bishops, abbots and other clergy "sang with great devotion 'Veni 5ancte Spiritus' (Come, Holy Spirit), the hymn of the Albigensian Crusade, the 'march and murder song'.

The crusaders- (Kühner), always gave the signal to storm, and naturally hoped for "soon to come help". It did indeed come, and after a two-hour battle against -the worst Hàretics and the greatest sinners before the Lord- (Historia Albigensis), the suburb of GraveiÍlaude was razed to the ground.

Raimund-Roger's brother-in-law, King Peter II of Aragon (nickname: eÍ católico), who has rushed to the Pyrenees and is in high favor with the Vatican (p. io8), tries to save the city from the Archabbot of Citeaux. But it falls through treachery. None other than the legate himself invites the viscount, to whom he has sworn free passage by God Almighty, to the crusader camp and immediately arrests him and the hundred knights accompanying him.

When they entered the village, it was almost deserted, the inhabitants had fled at night through an underground passage into forests and ravines, into the "Black Mountains". Only five hundred old people, women and children who were afraid to flee remained behind. About a hundred renounced their faith and left

"They went out of the city naked, carrying nothing but their sins with them. Four hundred steadfast men were h a n g e d or burned alive.

Vícomte Raimund-Roger ends up in the deepest dungeon of his castle and d i e s there on io. According to contemporary sources, however, he died of poisoning; even the Pope spoke of murder in a letter. The lands of Raimund-Roger, which his son later tried in vain to reconquer as his inheritance, the viceroyalties of the Trencavels, Albi, Niines, Agde, Béziers, Carcas- sonne and Razes, would in future belong to the Crownomancy.

For the time being, however, Arnald was looking for a new lord for the already conquered cities of Béziers and Carcassonne. And since his chosen ones, the Count of Nevers and the Duke of Burgundy - two Christians, often so "mutually hostile to each other that it was daily feared they would kill each other" - did not want to rule over plundered territory, he finally chose, says the chronicler, - under the obvious influence of St. John the Baptist.

Spirit-, Simon lV. of Montfort (i i65-i xi8), who now ruled "over the land for the praise of God, the glory of the Church and the suppression of hiiretic corruption-. Later, however, as Archbishop of Narbonne, Arnald spent time with his (and the Holy Spirit's) chosen one, even excommunicating Simon i zi6 when he tried to conquer his episcopal city.

Simon of Montfort, who owned the family's Stainmhaus in Ile-de-France and was close to King Philip II through his wife Alice of Montmorency, ultimately became the dominant figure in the Albigensian War. He had taken i iqq the cross and since then proved to be an advocate of papal politics. He then responded to your call for a crusade, in which he - who could neither read nor write, but is still regarded by the Church today as a bulwark of the faith, a champion of Jesus Christ and the "Savior of Rome" - distinguished himself through his injustice and brutality, as well as by pursuing very arbitrary plans. Nevertheless, the Fourth Lateran Council awarded him all the conquered territories, the entire Languedoc, and he was also confirmed as Count of Toulouse by King Philip. After the loss of this city, however, he was killed by a stone shot out of a sling by Tolosan women on June 8, during the months-long attempt to reconquer it. June 8 the death.

In the meantime, the crusade against Christians had continued. But the willingness of the majority of the nobles, baron after baron, had gradually diminished. Even the greedy Trttands and Ribauts were content to leave. But the Duke of Burgundy also left. As did the Count of Nevers. Although he "insistently" requested "to remain a little longer in the service of Jesus Christ", he did not even think about it, did not want to listen to the pleas at all, but returned home immediately. And this already after the capitulation of Carcas- sonne, when -the noble Count of Montfort was just preparing -to advance further with God's help-, while with the Count of Nevers also -the largest part of the army- disappeared from the theater of war. And not much later, at the siege of Ter- mes, the noble Countess of Montfort is about to embark on another crusade.

They pleaded in vain with the weary, begging them not to turn their backs on the Lord's cause in this distress. The Bishop of Beauvais and the Counts of Dreux and Ponthieu also ignored everyone's pleas and declared that they would "leave the next day and under no circumstances stay a single day longer". The Bishop of Char- tres also left. It was clear even to our war reporter that "most of the crusaders were lukewarm in their zeal and constantly longed to return home".

But the good Lord himself wanted war. And precisely as a dear God, he wanted a long war. Because: "In his goodness, God would not allow the most holy war to end completely and in a short time." And why so much goodness from God? Mercy? So much patience? Why? Well, clearly the "prolongation of the war" also extended, quite logically, the time of forgiveness of sins for sinners. And since the legals of the Apostolic See quickly grasped God's intention, they granted the indulgence of their

Lord to no one - who had not completed at least 4o days without interruption in the service of Jesus Christ -".

Isn't that a great religion!

Most of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priests and monks were, of course, still willing to continue the "cause of Christ", to cleanse the world of a diabolical plague. And Count Simon had not only ordered supplies from his wife Alix of Montmorency in the north, but *also* received additional troops from the papal legate, Archabbot Arnald of Citeaux, so that in July i million, around the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, they were able to enter the dreaded fortress of Minerve to the sound of the "Te Deum laudamus", with the cross in front and the banner of the Count of Montfort behind. After all, -Chtistus had won the place".

And now, "as a good **Catholic",** the count urged the heretics gathered in a house to convert.

•But when nothing worked, they began to drag them out of the village. However, the number of 'perfect' Hüretiker was zoo or even more. After a large funeral pyre

they were all thrown into the fire. However, it was not at all necessary for the rest of us to throw them in, for they were so hardened in their wickedness that they threw themselves into the fire ... After the heretics had been burned, all the others were left to burn in the place of heresy and were reconciled with the Holy Church - (Historia Albigen-

Of course, they were not always so brutal. One of Simon's comrades-in-arms even gave his life to any prisoner who could buy his way out with hundreds of soldiers. However, if he couldn't, he jumped over the blade. -If he was half-dead, he had him thrown into a privy (Grupp). And the monks of Boulbonne, the Cistercian abbey and necropolis of Foix, were even allowed to live (provided they survived the procedure). Only their eyes were gouged out and their noses and ears cut off, "so that nothing was left of the human face" (Lea). Nevertheless, the pious perpetrators were able to gloat over their victims, as the "pilgrims" were generally assured that they would not be punished for this or that life ...'*.

In the same year raio, Termes, which was considered impregnable and surrounded by a raging river, was to be razed to the ground; a ruthless heretic nest where "for more than 3o years ..., as we have heard from credible persons, holy mass was no longer celebrated in the church of Termes Castle.

A war technician and siege expert, the Archabbot Guilhem of Paris - who, inflamed by zeal for the Christian faith, devoted himself entirely to the service of Christ - positioned the most modern intrusion equipment around the town and castle, various bat lists, projectiles and battering rams, and, between daily sermons and instructions from craftsmen, fired up the "army of God". But the place only came into the hands of the orthodox alone in the fall, after three months of siege, when the war machines of the Parisian prelate - in a miraculous way - finally threw as accurately as if the 5 stones were led by God, when hunger, thirst and finally dysentery began to decimate the inhabitants,

so that "by the grace of God and the help of St. Clement they sought to be seized by fear and despair
{Historia Albigensis).

-Why should I linger any longer? Many escaped, some were captured, an even greater number were killed. As I said, all by the grace of God, the help of St. Clement, on whose feast the castle was conquered. And after the obligatory funeral pyres had been burned, Simon de Montfort returned to Carcassonne with Raymond, the captured Lord of Termes, an old man "of shabby disposition and an obvious heretic", and had him walled up in the dungeons there - "deep down in the castle tower ... where he suffered the punishment he deserved for many years. And late one day, when he is "buried", the son finds the bones.

In the same autumn in which the Pope's Soldateska conquered Termes, he had the Count of Toulouse excommunicated again at a council in Saint-Gilles, without allowing him a defense, because he had not expelled -all- heretics and had thus sworn perjury. And at a new conference, also initiated by Innocent as early as 12.I I, his legals in Montpellier set Raimund such rigorous conditions that his rejection could be assured from the outset. -The Count of Toulouse", it said, had to dismiss all troops. He must hand over to the clergy all persons who are declared heretics. Only two arrears of meat are allowed in the entire county of Toulouse. All inhabitants, nobles and burghers, are henceforth no longer allowed to wear fashionable clothes, but only coarsely woven dark brown frocks. All fortifications in towns and castles are to be ground down. The nobles who previously lived in the city were only allowed to live in the countryside. Each head of family must pay four pieces of silver to the legates each year. Simon of Mondorr may roam through Raimon's lands undisturbed, and should he take anything from him, the Count of Toulouse must not oppose this; rather, he must serve with the Knights of St. John or the Templars in Palaestina and may only return when the legates allow it.

stare at him. His possessions belong to the Abbot of Gteaux and Simon of Montfort for as long as these lords please. -

Raimund's poisonous and bile-tinged writings, which he published throughout his lands, not only made his vassals and the Tolosans stand by him even more firmly, but also secured him the support of the Counts of Foix and Comminges, and even the sympathy of Catholic prelates.

In the spring of xai i, Simon von Montfort had chosen the town of Lavauq, not far from Toulouse, as a new victim. However, he waited for a German pilgrim contingent to arrive as reinforcements. It was already approaching, but never arrived. The troops of the Count of Foix had routed it in a wood. Two thirds of the six thousand Germans lay dead or wounded on the ground, the rest were hunted down, then fought for a long time around Lavaur: with balloons, crucifix-covered siege engines on one side, with hails of stones, pours of boiling oil, molten lead, burning tar on the other, with countless tricks and subtleties of the Christians preaching love of neighbor and enemy. On
May 3, on the day the cross was found, Lavaut, one of the strongest cities in the country, was taken by fugitives, outlaws, troubadours, knights and Cathars, and everything in it, regardless of faith, age or gender, was stabbed in the presence of the bishops. A beautiful victory in the name of the Lord and the Holy Virgin.

Aimery de Montréal, the brother of the city's ruler, who first sneaked into his home town through the ring of besiegers, is hanged on the gallows, his sister Giraude, the pregnant Xastella-nin, "haeretica pessima", is thrown alive into a well and covered with stones on the orders of the Count of Montfort until her whimpers are stifled. Eighty knights, all "enemies of the cross", are summarily killed on the ground on the orders of the "noble count" as the gallows break. Finally, four hundred Cathars are seized - and, reports Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay again, -our crusaders burn with immense joy - {cum ingenti gaudio combusserunt) -an enormous number of heretics".

Dedicated to the "official Hystoria Albigensis", so to speak, of the

The abbot and bishop's nephew from the rich northern French Cistercian abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay was none other than Pope Innocent **III** (in 3) - thanks to their precise observations and personal proximity to the spiritual and military leaders of the crusade - the most informative source for the events and for the mentality of the crusaders (Lnxikon für Theologie und Kirche). - The Muslims covered their children's eyes until the fire closed them forever- {Rahn).

Already in June, after the occupation of Cassés (in the Lauraguais), another sixty cathareps were burned, again in the presence of the bishops, and again "with great joy". Murder stimulates the
-Knight Christie quite considerably. And if they did not kill "with great pleasure, then at least, as at the capture of Moissac,
-with great desire" - and also recognized the friendly as- sistance, - the work of the Blessed Virgin-.*° (Cf. p. i8z)

Since the end of antiquity, Mary, the tsar, the pure one, has had a jaundiced face. She is the "Queen of May", the "Lady of the Green Forest" etc. and at the same time, in continuation of the role of her pagan predecessors, the wild goddess of blood and vengeance, the Lady of the Battlefield and of Mass Murder (for more details, see
-Murder with Maria- in -Opus Diaboli", a3i ff.).

Time and again it is said how relaxing, truly liberating, how cheerful Morden makes Catholics. Unfortunately, Catholic Hans Rost in his book -Die Fröh)ichkeit in der katholischen Kirche. A Philosophy of Happiness" ('s46) (I iz) so completely overlooked this phenomenon of Hcils - and yet he could have provided so much evidence for it! For example, with the report of the x3. For example, with the report of the Doninican inquisitor Guil- lelmo Pelisso, who worked in the region of Toulouse in the x3rd century and who -to the glory and praise of God and the Blessed Virgin and St. Dominic- tells how, in the year of his canonization i z34 in Toulouse, Bishop Raimundus of
Miromonte, just between the festive mass and the banquet, to a just discovered sick heretic. But since he can't do anything with her despite all his persuasions and words, because the old sick woman doesn't want to weaken or deny her faith because of this "miserable

life", the prelate condemns her by force.

of Jesus Christ as a heretic. *He had her carried to the funeral pyre with the bed she was lying in and burned at the stake.* After this was done, the bishop and the brothers {Dominicans) went back to the dining room, and what had been prepared for her they ate with great merriment, giving thanks to God and St. Dominic.

So it is not only Catholic piety that stimulates killing (even that of an elderly woman with an old age), but also the Catholic appetite.

With great cheerfulness! How uplifting, invigorating - -the Sache Christie!

SC H LAUGHTER AND SAT I RERE I F

The extent to which the Christian-Catholic Church diffused the Albigensian Church, dragged it into the mud - generally its strength, of course, for over a decade {cf. Ch. 13 below!
-Historia Albigensis" by Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay. This is summarized here once a g a i n - also and precisely because of the fundamental importance of the phenomenon, which reveals a typical attitude of this side that spans entire epochs, the demonization of the opponent at all costs.

The author; born around i i 8z, died soon after ia g, was brought to the Vaux-de-Cernay monastery as a child, an already
' *4th century, among other things "due to disputes with neighboring abbeys, decaying Cistercian abbey west of Paris, largely deserted in the early i 5th century" (Fossier). lm.
In the 13th century it was still extremely prosperous, if not rich, and enjoyed both royal and papal protection.
•• 4 a Mr. Guy as abbot, later Bishop of Carcassonne and vice-legate of the Holy Father - the uncle of our chronicler.

Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay thus came from a distinguished family and was placed in the most competent Christian hands from an early age, which can be felt on every page of his work. In addition, he accompanied Uncle Guy iaoa on the Fourth Crusade and has also been on the Crusades for twenty months, at times again as his uncle's companion

against the Albigenses. He had good contacts with the spiritual and military leaders of the Catholics and apparently also had access to their correspondence, papal bulls, council resolutions and other sources. He is regarded as the official historian of this crusade and was allowed to dedicate the work to none other than Innocent III, whereby his dedicatory letter emphasizes that he only wrote what he had seen himself or heard from -highly placed and absolutely credible sources.

Often rightly praised for its iristructive approach, its precise observations and the author's direct proximity to key figures in the events, this book, which was apparently widely distributed and translated into French as late as the 3rd century, sometimes seems somewhat long-winded, iterative and occasionally clichéd to today's readers, but is instructive because of its black-and-white illustrations - according to the Handbuch für Kirchengeschichte:

• best eyewitness report. What he describes is a single battle of the good against the evil, the -innocent soldiers of Christ'-, the "men filled with God" against the impudent hounds, the "plague of heretics-, the -helpers of the devil". Whereby the Albigensians are consistently portrayed as "enemies of the Christian religion", as "companions of the Antichrist, first-born of Satan", people who, especially in "matters concerning God, so to speak, constantly lie, devote themselves to usury", "robbery, murder and carnal temptations", "perjury and all corruptions".

On the other hand, brillierr at the head of the divine controversy; chosen as leader "with the help of the Holy Spirit", the author's idol Count Si- mon von Montfort, stereotypically presented as noble, as -the extremely noble count", -the most noble count-, -exceedingly pious count- etc., of course also: - Knight of Christ-, -through and through Catholic-", one who frequently -hears Mass-, -receives Holy Communion-, -prayed fervently-, -placed everything in the will of God, therefore also

"honorable in his conduct and brave in battle". Constantly enjoying the protection of the Most High, nothing can happen to him for a long time, nothing. Even when he falls "in full armor" into an abysmal riverbed, seemingly sunk forever as he wails,

there a howl of joy breaks out, *Mon* lifts him -after a long time from the depth of the water", whereby the nobleman prudently - folds his hands and stretches them towards heaven in deep piety

On the other hand, "the Count of Deceit", "the disgraceful Count of Toulouse", Simon's opponent, "hypocritical and malicious, deceitful and perjured", "extremely devious". He secretly hindered the cause of Christ as much as he could. But worse still: -the utterly vile Count of Foix", -the new Cain and new Judas-, this -perpetrator of violence-,
"Master of treachery", "the most treacherous of all men", who emulates "his father the devil". The "cruel wickedness and malicious cruelty of the Count of £oix" is so comprehensive that our chronicler fills an entire chapter with it, although he "cannot even report the hundredth part" (by the way: even if he adds another chapter, it is permissible to mention the criminality of Christianity in criminal history - and this is an exaggeration!
-Even more of the Count's wickedness", which concludes, significantly, with the words of one of his "very wicked knights":
"Look," said et, "we have destroyed Saint-Antonio and Sainte-Marie. Now all that remains is for us to destroy God' - because anti-church, anti-clerical is always anti-God - that is something that has always been dug into the brains of the stupid of all times.

The Count of Foix, this "extremely cruel enemy of the Church", has no respect for anything. He besieges the canons of the monastery of Sainte-Marie until they "drink their own urine from thirst". He robs their church completely atis and extorts a ransom. Together with his playmates, he cuts off the arms and legs of crucifixes and uses them - out of contempt for the suffering of the Lord - as pepper and herbs for seasoning food. -The aforementioned robbers also stabled their horses in the church and even let them eat from the sacred altar.'"-.

Of course, the devil is also the count's entire entourage,
-his band of robbers", his relatives in particular: his son,
-that very bad traitor Roger-Bernard," the aunt, "a

She is a "very great heretic", always -'spouting the gik of heresy and superstition. And one of her sons - -a very bad and avowed heretic - -, a -thrasher", tears out the eyes of a monastery brother in Pamiers out of pure - contempt for the Christian religion and the canons, and even cuts a canon saying mass "t o pieces at the altar of a church near Pamiers".

In any case, the brotherhood of the persecuted Albigerians in the Crusade report by Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay is astonishing.

Some seem to walk the streets day and night just to slaughter harmless Catholics or at least t o pluck out their eyes, cut off their noses and other limbs. Others attack pious pilgrims, cripple the innocent, so that once in a single monastery of the

Black Monks allegedly encountered i5 o men and women de-
The thumbs, hands or feet were missing, the eyes, breasts had been torn out or other body parts had been cut off. They also "thought up new and as yet untried methods . . every day new and as yet untried martem-. "Sometimes they would - it's horrible to say - violently t e a r the limbs from the bodies of those hanged by their genitals with ropes.

You almost get the impression that the Albigensians regularly slaughtered their Catholic prisoners, but disfigured them horribly beforehand. Occasionally they would bury someone up to his shoulders, use his head as a target and pepper him with arrows. Others are stoned to death, a millstone is tied around their neck, they are drowned in water, thrown off walls, even torn apart completely, such as the nephew of the Archbishop of Reims, and then the torn man is pushed "over to the rest of us", a captured knight is liquidated and his naked feet are sent "into the castle with a slingshot to spread fear and terror among the rest of us". Other corpses are stabbed again and again with swords, all swords that are available, out of pure hatred and mockery. Others are roasted on the fire and then thrown to the dogs.

Presumably these are often atrocity tales such as we, muratis

mutandis, from many a modern inferno, from the world wars, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, the NATO invasion of Yugoslavia. Such scoundrels serve to justify themselves, strengthen "morale", perseverance and stupefaction. If the Albigensians were not committing atrocities, but real crimes, they too would be crimes committed by Christians. - And did the Catholics behave differently? Does not even the "Historia Albigensis" of our Cistercian monk still reveal too much, too much that is Catholic?

Certain crimes, such as white collar crimes, seem to be a
It must have been the prerogative or custom of the Catholics. In any case, they are only reported by them, even again and again: above all, the execution of -heretics-, men, women and children. It usually happens at the behest of the "noble Count of Montfort", unless he himself is involved. And the burning and razing of castles, suburbs and fortified towns is often associated with the tactic of scorched earth, the devastation of fields and crops, the uprooting of fruit trees and the ripening of vines, and yet it is not uncommon for one's own army to suffer great hardship as a result of the lack of food. In Germany, too, Christians repeatedly destroy the food, the fields the vineyards of other Christians, preferably in times of famine and 2 times before the harvest {p. 6z), as well as in Italy (498, J i i, pro f. and others).*'

In many places, in many castles that were conquered - and these
There was almost no end to the conquests - the popes simply made a tabula rasa. Not only did they often burn them to the ground, they also ran the inhabitants into the ground. This is what was said after the fall of La Touelles, diocese of Albi: -Almost all were killed with the sword.- So it is said after the capture of Hautpoul: -Whoever was found of the enemy was killed." Thus it says of On Lavelanet: - They took it by force in an assault and killed all the people.- Of a castle near Pa- miers: "and all the remaining defenders were killed-. In Lagrave they killed -almost everyone from the smallest to the tallest". It was like in Béziers, where they also killed "almost everyone, from the youngest to the oldest, and then set the town on fire".

Many inhabitants of Montlaur captured them and hanged them on the gallows. Hüngen was very popular. It promoted the often-mentioned Christie cause. After the capture of Bernis, many of the defenders were hanged on the gallows, as they deserved. The "noble Count of Montfort" also had people hanged on the gallows as a deserved punishment for their misdeeds. On one occasion, he ordered 8o knights to be hanged. And he liked to have them hanged. It is said repeatedly that he had him -tied to the tail of a horse and dragged through the army camp and then hanged the dragged man on the gallows as a deserved punishment. Or: -He had this one ... tied to the tail of a horse and dragged through the whole city of Carcassonne and then hanged as a just reward for his crime. -

Soon after, they stormed a place called Bram. -The defenders of the place, more 815 IOO, had their eyes torn out and their noses cut off. One of them had a single eye removed so that he could lead the others to Cabaret as a mockery of our enemies." The noble Count of Mondort did this - but not because he would have enjoyed it ...". Oh no, he only did it according to the Bible advice: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. For the Albigensians, "those extremely cruel drudges", did not do otherwise, at least according to Catholic historiography, and at least "now and then", as is obvious, they were supposed to d o t h e same. The

-was therefore only right ... The count w a s the most peaceful of all ... -

And that is why his tombstone (still preserved) in the cathedral of Saint-Nazaire in Carcassonne also honors him as an archangel and saint.

praised.

"One is not only horrified and tremendously disgusted by these insane excesses of Christian clericalism, one feels that one belongs to a civilization that ... was capable of such horrors ... . and would be again under similar conditions" (Nelly Moia).^°

CHAPTER 3

CRUSADES AGAINST BALTS, PRUSSIA, STEDINGER

-... already Alexander III calls r ry i {?) the Danes, Norwegians and Goths 'ad defendendum christiane fidei veritatein', Cölestin III assures (i iq 5/q6J indulgences to those who take the cross to restore the church of Meinhard in Livonia, lnnozeni III ... and Honorius IB. .....demand the .....fight- A. Bauer'

-Bishop *Benhold* fiß1 *9 in Kam f. The great Bishop Albert of Riga continued his work, including the crosses ... By March he had conquered Livonia, Estonia, Semgallen and Courland with his troops. The pagans' promise to be baptized was the first condition for peace in all these battles" Frin Blanke-

-On i 8. i. i zwo, Pope Gregory IX called on the Order, as a result of Knnrad **of** Masnwien's donations **against** the Prussians, and immediately afterwards Landmeister Hermann Bahn passed the .....Drawbar Handbook of European History'

• ....A fierce battle ensued between the poor and the **Swantopolks army** remained i yoo men dead on the battlefield ... - - -... and after a long .....battle they killed..... all of them. Thus, by the grace of God, over 3ooo Sainlanders and other Prussians .....we re slain .....tha t day ..." .....-. .....and Thus a great bloodbath was wrought among the people of the PruSes; for on that day more than gooo fell. Then the crucifiers all returned home rejoicing and praising the grace of the Redeemer.- Peter von Dusburg-

-It would take too long and go beyond my small talent if I wanted to explain in detail how powerfully and magnificently, how skillfully and efficiently the Master and

the brothers, like new Maccabees, laid hands on the land of the Christians to expand and .....enlarge it.

Peter von Dusburg'

-The whole thing (the fight against the Stedinger) was nothing more than an episode in the endeavor to further define the rule of the nobility and the f'riester: the last vestiges of the old independence of the German tribes had to be destroyed, and for this purpose the united powers of church and state were called upon.
Henry Charles Leo

OSTM I SSI O N O R "ALL S LAVEN . .
SO FO RT TO G RI P AND
T O T AKE ^ . " T H E F I R S T PARTS
nes GE LD UNDER SI CH "

In addition to the Albigensian crimes, there were the wars and crusades in the Baltic region, which were initiated by Innocent III, above all with the bloody attacks of the crusaders against the Baltic peoples; basically nothing more than a continuation of the German "Ostmission" and "Ostkolonization", the "German Ostbewegung", the "Ostsiedlungswerk", the "Ostsiedlungsausbau", the "Landnahme". For what is hidden behind all these beautiful, disdainful names is the old, cruel business, the beginnings of which c a n b e s e e n as early as Charlemagne, the
his successors, especially King Henry I . {V)7 >.) and Emperor Otto I, the actual founder of this special and particularly
tively dinon-rich branch of history and business {V Ryo ff.), brutally expand over the area between the Elbe and Oder rivers. And did the Danes, Swedes, Poles and Pomeranians also deploy their armies here, didn't the Germans surpass everything?

According to the latest calculations, in the z z. century alone, around zoo ooo German farmers in the area beyond the Elbe and Saale rivers -They were generously supported by the nobility and the church, most of all by the Cistercians, who provided them with land, livestock, tools and advisors and also waived their taxes in the early years.

"Although only one thing is necessary," writes i i yi Prelate Gerung, -by the grace of God Bishop of the Holy Church of MeiBen-, namely

-to choose with Mary in the sweetness of the contemplative life, the good, yes, the best part of inner peace, we are nevertheless often forced to be zealous with Martha in the bittemis of daily life ... - With this in mind, Bishop Gerung settles immigrants from Flanders in an uncultivated and almost deserted place and distributes them. Just how little -il1egiήm- this is, how seemingly rightful, is suggested by the phrase with which each of these settlement documents begins: -In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity ...- For example, Abbot Arnold of Nienbiirg Monastery anno - *49 -In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity"

inn Burgward Kleutsch - after the expulsion of the old unbelieving sla-

wischeii farmers there new settlers of the Christian faith". For example, i i q Abr AmoÍd of Ballenstedt Monastery sells two villagesq -närn1ich Nauzcdele and Nimiz on the Mulde (east of Dessau), which were previously owned by Slavs ...".* "In the name of the holy and divided Trinity".

At the end of the iz. Christianity defeated paganism from the Ore Mountains to the Baltic islands. The Danish king Waldemar I. -(i i3 r-x i 8z), whose self-image was ultimately based on the "imitatio Christi", who waged one civil war after another, and for more than a quarter of a century almost yearly naval units against the West Slavs {Wends), Wãf 3 I ÖÄfZ I6q atlCh went on a crusade against Rügen. In addition to the Pomeranian and Obotrite princes, Blessed Eskil, Archbishop of Lund, a friend of HÍ. Bernard of Clairvaux. Eskil's successor AbsaÍon {p. *75), then Bishop of Roskilde, later Primate of the Swedish Church, a prelate who, according to a citgenossc, combined martial &giving with the most heartfelt piety, admittedly a mixture that often pardoned hierarchs.

Absalon destroyed the cult site of Svantevit in Arkona on the island of Rügen, smashed the "idol" to pieces, burned the teinpel, built a church on top of it and replaced the inhabitants with a new one.

-the holy water - was forcibly baptized. And as in Arkona, they raged in other places on the island and beyond; always mission: -by

force of arms- (theologian Hagenbach).

The whole area from Bohemia to the sea was subject to German archbishoprics; the Slavic cults had been eliminated, their gods overthrown, their groves devastated and ostracized. But this was also followed by the defeat of Slavism by Germanism; and this was preceded, as always, by the work of the sword. "Sword mission and word mission intertwined," concedes even the Handbook of Church History, whereby the sword mission differed - as already under the "great - Charles {IV i S. **Chap.!). For it was** not the Christian sermons that tipped the scales, but the sharper weapons, the better organization of the church and the overpowering forces of the German, Polish, Danish and Pomeranian feudal armies (J. Herrmann).

Yes, "the whole area of the Slavs," rejoices Helmhold, the pastor **of Bosau on** Lake Plön, "has now become, as it were, a large settlement of Saxons by Gorde's grace, in which towns and villages are being built and the number of churches and servants of Christ is increasing. This is always the main thing. But "because the Slavic robbers made the Germans ... more troubledi - so the one robbers the other, the real robbers, concludes the pastor of Bosau

• • 7 his Slavic chroriik, - the burgrave Guncelin, a brave man and vassal of the duke, commanded the purifiers to remove all slaveii they found on byways and in remote, lonely areas.
to be immediately seized and hanged".

In the early ia. In the early 16th century, Saxon Duke Lothar of Süpplingenburg, "a terror to the enemies of God" (Bernhardi), had opened a new phase of colonization in the east, advancing east of the Elbe as far as the Rugians in four campaigns.
wish territory (< 4 s f.), but of course only in continuation of the
This is the result of much older robberies by German invaders (cf. for example V Ryo ff.!).

In the process, the occupying and expelling princes brought in more and more eagerly settling peasants in order to permanently Germanize the captured land and push it further east. When the Slavic population in Mecklenburg, for example, had been decimated and driven out by the wars, Count Adolf II von

Holstein -messengers to all countries - to encourage Dutchmen, Frisians, West-Flanders, -who had too little land" {Helmold), to settle down. To the Holsten and Storinarn he said: -Have you not subjugated the land of the Slavs and p a i d for it with the blood of your brothers and fathers? Why do you want to be the last to take possession of it? Be the first, migrate into the lovely land, inhabit it and enjoy its gifts, for the best of it is due to you, who have snatched it from the enemy's hand." At that time, he founded Lübeck - south of the old, now destroyed Slavic settlement. A little later, Count Henry of Ratzeburg, appointed by Henry the Lion, also brought We5tfalen here. -They built churches and tithed their produce to serve the house of the Lord." And here, too, the Slavs were at least partially relocated; they were assigned swamps, lakes and rivers where they could only catch fish.

That was nothing new.

It recalls, for example, the Tollensian War exactly one hundred years earlier. The Tollenset, one of the four core tribes of the Liutici, had been paying the price since Otto I, another hundred years earlier, was defeated in the Battle of the Raxa along with other pagans (and had yoo prisoners of war beheaded: V 4Jy! - no one becomes -the great- for nothing"}, an annual tribute in silver, from which the Magdeburg archbishopric collected the tithe. When, a century later, the Liutizen tore themselves apart in a terrible civil war io57, the defeated Rcdarians and Tollensians called on the Christians for help, who first continued to slay Slavs and then collected i 5 ooo marks for the peace.

Helmold castigates the greed of the Saxons: "The princes divided the money among themselves. There was no question of Christianity; they thought nothing of honoring God, who had given them victory in war. This shows the insatiable greed of the Saxons; although they excel other peoples, neighboring the barbarians, in the art of arms and experience of war, they are always more inclined to increase the burden of interest than to win souls for the Lord.'"-.

Similarly, it is said of the young Hemog Heinrich: he -began

to rule over the entire land of the Slavs, as his power gradually grew and increased. For whenever the Slavs put anything in his way, he fought them, and so they gave him everything he asked for in order to save his land and his life. In the various campaigns he undertook into the Slavic lands, Christianity was not mentioned at all, only money."

THE "PEACE OF GOD - COMES TO LIV LAN D - " AN UNFORGETTABLE

Ruii ESB LATT ^

For once, a man from the Segeberg Abbey of the Slavic apostle Vicelin {VI ¢x6) in Holstein, the Augustinian canon Meinhard, was more concerned with souls. After i i8z he set out, already a year old and accompanied by the Cistercian Theoderic, with German merchants via Gotland to the eastern Baltic, to the lower reaches of the Düna, nm to bring "the peace of God" to the pagan Livonians. In the Middle Ages, Livonia (Livonia) included not only the settlement area of the Livonians, but also certain parts of the Estonians, the Baltic Latvians {Lettgallians), Curonians, Semgallians and Selenians. The land owned by these ethnic groups, cattle breeders, farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen, attracted the surrounding peoples to conquest. The Danes advanced to Estonia, the Swedes to Courland, the Russians and Germans to the Livonians in the north.

sense.

i i8y/i i86 Archbishop Hartwig Il. of Harnburg-Bremen, once notary to Henry the Lion, made Meinhard bishop of Üxküll (Ikikile), where he had already had a church and a castle built in order to secure Gotres- peace. i i88 Clemens III, the great propagandist of the Third Crusade (VI y 58 ff.), recognized Üxküll as a bishopric of Bremen and encouraged Meinhard, who had suffered setbacks and was then also spurred on by Pope Celestine III to persevere. But on Meinhard's death

The Christianization of Livonia is initiated, but not much is achieved, as the Livonians fall away again, and not just once.

When his successor Bishop Berthold, previously the Cistercian abbot of Loccum, briefly appears in Üxküll - recommending himself to the Lord - the Livonians argue among themselves as to whether they should burn, beat or drown the bishop. However, he escapes and draws the consequences of the incident. Eirigedenk the pithy maxim of his great master of the order, St. Bernard: -"Attack without fear, you knights…", he chases the enemies of the order with an undaunted heart.

Cross of Christ" (VI 44 .), Bishop Berthold appeared with an army on the Düna in early summer. After all, Coelestine III, who died that year, had also {i -s i **9 1 by means of an£ ab-
laBbulle sought to bring warriors to the Baltic front, even the one who was already lying to the world in the fight against his antipope {VI 5 rd f.) Alexander III. ¡**7‹ } Danes, Norwegians and Goths - ad defendendum christiane fidei veritatem-. Innocent III also called for war against the pagans in a crusade bull i99 , as did his successor Honorius III. I•*7• * 2I g, IaZO
and i**4-

With the help of his army of the cross, Bishop Berthold only wanted to consolidate the Livonian church or, in other words, establish the peace of God. The ecclesiastical commander is said to have glowed with a longing for sacrificial death and was then also, but hardly voluntarily, but through his rushing forward too quickly.

of the horse arfl -4- J- • i qd pierced by a lance in the first battle and torn limb by limb by the livestock. Consequence
the destruction of their seeds with fire and sword, a mass baptism, and after the departure of the pilgrim fleet - their last sails were still on the horizon - the Livs washed away the baptism again in the dune tides, plundered the Christian temples and expelled all the priests. And since then, the type of direct missionary war - in which the aim of the campaigns was to force people to accept baptism - has p r e v a i l e d in the Eastern Baltic (Benninghoven), "the sword mission" {Handbook of European History).

• Missionary work was fought for with the cross and the sword,

is still praised in our days by a Cistercian with an imprimatur - his imperishable blazon of glory in the history of religious orders at all.

Two years after the soul shepherd's death in battle, a new Kreuxzug approached. In the meantime, Bremen's Archbishop Hartwig had appointed a successor on z8. March i iqp appointed a successor, and of course his nephew, the head of the cathedral school, Albert von Bekesho- vede Bukshövden). From the outset, the latter was intent on a spiritual principality, i.e. the theft of land, was determined to conquer Livonia militarily from the outset and sought comprehensive backing. He contacted Godand's merchants, secular and spiritual greats. King Philip of Swabia, with whom he celebrated Christmas in Magdeburg, promised him economic help {and gave him I kO2 S€İnen Great Livonia as a fiefdom}. Bishop Albert immediately found the Pope's support. In the crusade book of y. October xxqq, Innocent III called the Low Germans to battle, equating the crusade in Livonia with the crusade to the "Holy Land", as did Gregory IX and Innocent IYi

The Danish king Waldemar II Sejr (the victor), who was a good be-

The king, who maintained relations with the pope - and led campaigns against Öse1 {I ZO6), Prussia (x zxo), Estonia (i aiq) - agreed to the invasion. So did the powerful Archbishop Absalon I of Lund, the king's influential councillor and the most talented Scandinavian ecclesiastical prince of the Middle Ages. During the conquest of Rügen, he had

S.*7 I and had already fought for many years against the Baltic Slavs, against whom he also built the bishop's castle of Havn (later Copenhagen). And just as Hermit's Rügen became part of his bishopric, so had his

Metropolitan Union also swallowed the territories taken from Danes and Estonians. The handbook of church history calls him an "understanding collaborator" of Vincent III. Incidentally, Enbishop Absalon proved himself a patron of the arts, also, of course, as a patron of his relatives: Nephew Anders Sunesøn followed him to the archbishopric of Lund, nephew Peder Sunesøn was given the bishopric of Roskilde.'-

In the spring of rioo, Bishop Albert - of Cistercians

*7 He was venerated in Riga as a saint until the Reformation (feast: June i) - with z3 ships his army to the Düna. There are smaller battles and

The great missionary then makes peace with the locals, quite obviously the peace of God. At a feast, he treacherously arrests their elders, takes thirty of their sons hostage - and returns with new "pilgrims". He founds Riga and secures his territorial theft, which is still barely taking shape, with his first vassals, whom he places in the castles of Üxküll and Lennewarden. And summer after summer, with the help of the annually arriving "pilgrims", he chased his armies against -the enemies of Christ-, not only against the Livonians, but, according to Abbot Ar- nold of Lübeck (d. i a z z), also against other "barbarian peoples" - a war waged with the greatest cruelty.

However, as the bishop wanted to be independent of the changing supplies, of the crusaders returning home every year, and perhaps even more so because the whole work of rescue was in danger of collapsing at times {Handbook of European History), the prince of the church had his own order of knights founded; he had his helper, the Cistercian Theoderic (Dietrich) of Treyden, the Order of the Brothers of the Sword, founded as early as i zoa.

{The German knights of Livonia (fratres miliciae Christi de Livonia, red sword under a paw cross on a white mantle) were to be placed under his command as a permanent troop of German knights bound to obey him.

The Order of the Sword Brothers (swertbrüdere), modeled on the

The Knights Templar was just one of the six orders of knights organized in north-eastern Europe against the pagans with rules confirmed by Rome. Like all of these ecclesiastical organizations, whose knights were not monks but soldiers and butchers, they exploited the locals whose land they plundered, forcing them to pay tithes, interest, military service and court rulings,

to build churches, bridges and roads. And as early as i• 7 , the Brothers of the Sword - in addition to obedience, chastity and pagan warfare, they were also obliged to live in poverty - owned a third of the Livonian territory as a "do-

minium", the first religious state of the High Middle Ages. And i z3

they ruled almost half of the country. But as early as i az 5

Bishop Alberto Haudegen subjugated Livonia, Estonia, Semgallen and Courland. And in all their battles, the pagans' promise to be baptized was the "first condition for peace"
{F. Blanke).'-

" FNSST SI Et REI SST S IE,
SCH LAGT S IE TOT! -

To get an idea of the constant monstrosity of these crusades in the Baltic, it suffices to read the extensive
-Chfonicon Livoniae" {the Livonian Chronicle} by Henry of Latvia. This undoubtedly important historian had not been a Latvian, but a Latvian missionary since the summer of izoy in Livonia, was a scholar of the Riga bishop Alberr, a priest in Papendorf (Rubene) in the Estonian/Latvian border region, was an interpreter of the papal legate William of Modena and himself took part in at least thirty campaigns against Livonians and Latvians. In his chronicle, however, he reports hundreds of military campaigns, battles, sieges of castles and the like'

Admittedly, everything is repeated, more or less similarly, in gruesome monotony.

Dr *heiDt it about* zzo8 of a crusade of the recently *chri*- stianized Latvians against the Estonians (who tried to -convert- Danish and Swedish missionaries as early as the i i th century):
-And they conspired against the Estonians and set out to devastate their land by day and night, and when they found
They invaded the countryside of Sakkala, men, women and children in every village and place in their homes, killing from morning till night whom they found, both their wives and children, and three hundred of the noblest men and elders of the Landshah Sakkala, besides countless others, until the hands and arms of the slayers finally tired from the immense slaughter of the people. When all the villages were stained with the blood of the heathens,

the following day they began their retreat, bringing together much booty from all the villages and taking with them draught animals and a lot of cattle, as well as many little maidens, which alone are used to sparing the armies in these countries. And they went slowly homewards ..., and since they had Bertold, the brother of the order, as well as their own priest with some knights and crossbowmen of the bishop, they g a v e them gifts of everything. And since it was Gaudete Sunday, they all praised God with one accord with joy, since the Lord had also practiced such a reward on other pagans through those who had recently returned."'

The Livonian Chronicle reports on a military expedition iaoq or z Mio: "When the peace that had been made with the Ugaunians came to an end, Bertold, the master of the order in Wenden, summoned the Russin with his Latvians ... and went with his Wends to Ugaunia. And they found people who had not taken refuge in a castle in their villages, killed very many in all the villages they could reach, and, after slaying many and capturing others, took great spoils, carried off the women and girls with them, left the villages desolate and returned home after great murder and burning."

The ecclesiastical chronicler reports on an advance in anno into: -And the army dispersed through all the roads and villages; and they killed many people everywhere and destroyed them in the neighboring districts, captured women and children and gathered at the castle. During the next day and the third day they went about devastating everything, setting fire to what they found and capturing countless horses and cattle. For there were four thousand oxen and cows, including the horses and other livestock, and a countless number of captives, and many pagans who had fled into the woods and onto the ice of the sea froze to death and died. On the fourth day, after three castles had been conquered and burned, they began to leave the country with all the booty ... ... and they returned home to Livonia joyfully, and they all thanked the Lord, who had given them revenge on their enemies."'-

Priest Heinrich describes a bloody raid anno Domini -*-s like this: -And gathered an army of Latvians with their

Friends and relatives; and with them went the brothers of the Order of Wends with other Germans; and they invaded Ugaunia, plundered all the villages and consigned them to the flames, and all the men they could get hold of they burned alive in revenge for Talibald and set fire to all their castles so that they would not take refuge in them. And they tracked them down in the dark hiding places of the woods, and there was nowhere to hide from them; and they took them out of the woods and killed them, took their wives and children away with them, drove away horses and cattle, took many spoils and went back to their country.

But just as these Catholics treated the pagans, they also treated Christians, such as the Russians. Latvian priest Heinrich reports in the year I az i, in which he also tradicrt the battle cry of the Lerten, which they had been taught in German in the meantime, not only their actual gospel: "FaeBt sie, reißt sie, schlagt sie tot!":

• ... and went into Russia against their enemies ... and ravaged the whole country round about, burning houses and villages, taking many people into captivity and killing others. And the Letts came to a church not far from the city of Novgorod, robbed icons, bells, %ucher vessels and the like, and returned to the army with much booty ... . The Latvians and the Sakkals and Ugaunians also continually went {continue) to Russia, killed many there, captured many of both sexes and *took* much booty. Likewise, *those* of *Koken-* huseri and the Germans repeatedly {omni tempore) went to Russia and brought back much booty and many prisoners."

Then the Ugaunians come back in the winter with a surprise.

they killed the men and many people, took many prisoners of both sexes, slaughtered sheep, cattle and much livestock, which they could not take away with them, and returned home with great plunder¡ and Estonia and Livonia filled up with captured Russians, and for all the damage that the Russians had done to the Livonians, they had already made double or triple the amount in the same year.'°.

The conquest of the Russian-Estonian castle of Dorpat on the later Domberg in August i--4 is recounted by Chroriist Heinrich in this way:

-Wherefore of the many words Each one hastened to be the first to ascend,

to increase the glory and praise of Jesus Christ and his mother Mary, to win for himself the praise and reward of his toil ... After many Germans had already entered the castle, the Latvians and some of the Livonians followed them and immediately began to kill the people, both men and some women, and did not spare them, so that they soon numbered a thousand. The Russians, however, who resisted the longest, were finally defeated and ßowed into the fortifications from above; from there they were dragged out again and all killed together with the prince, about two hundred men ... But after all the men had been slain, there was a great rejoicing and playing of the Christians on drums and pipes and musical instruments, because they had taken vengeance on the evildoers and killed all the traitors from Livonia and Estonia who had gathered there. Then they took the Russians' weapons, the horses' clothes and all the booty left in the castle and the remaining women and children, set fire to the castle and immediately returned to Livonia the next day with great joy, thanking God in heaven for the victory given to them, for he is kind and his goodness endures forever."

So, with a lot of healthy trust in God, with Jesus Christ and his most holy mother Mary, they rob everything they can get and need, beating, stabbing, hanging and burning people, pagans and Christians, year after year, as the Lord gives. And priest Heinrich ends up heading the chapters of his chronicle with the lines that are almost always true:

"Bishop Albert began the nineteenth year of his ministry, / And The people of Livonia did not rest from war" (Et non a bellis siluit gens Lyvoniensis). -And the twentieth year of the bishop was approaching, f And the land of the Livonians did not rest from war- - The twenty-fourth year of the bishop had already come, / And still the land had neither rest nor peace.

It was the bishop's tenth year, and the church was not yet at peace from war. "*[2]

Bishop Alberr I of Riga, counted among "the greatest J\tissionary bishops of his time" (Lexikon für Thcologie und Kirche), whose bloodthirsty predatory wars the Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte describes as

"The "pilgrimage" to Livonia is said to have been repeated thirteen more times, with increasing success, because the prelate consecrated Livonia, the archdiocese, the Riga Cathedral izoz to the Mother of God, declaring it her "own". Livonia thus became a land of preferred Marian devotion, a "magnet for pilgrims", i.e. urgently needed warriors.

In his "Livonian Chronicle", Priest Henry goes into great detail about how much Mary was used as a wooer, how she was threatened, how she was used as a missionary and warrior, how in particular "the sea star always watches over his Livonia, t h e mistress of the world and the ruler of all lands always protects her own land", how the Queen of Heaven commands the kings of the earth, how she "punished so many kings who fought against Livonia". Everything massacres Mary, kills her, slays her, whatever does not suit her concept. Behold, the Mother of God, how meek she is towards her own who serve her faithfully in Livonia, and how she always protects them from all enemies, and how cruel she is against those who invade her land, or those who seek to hinder the faith and honor of her Son in this land. Behold, how many and mighty kings she has punished! Behold, how many princes and elders of the faithless and heathen has she destroyed from the earth, how often has she given victory to her own over their enemies ... Remember and see, you princes of the Russians, pagans, Danes or elders of any nation, fear her, the gentle Mother of Mercy, worship her, the Mother of God, pamper her, who takes such cruel revenge on her enemies, do not continue to attack her country, so that she may be a mother to you, who has always been the enemy of her enemies and has always caused even greater harm to those who harmed hers in Livonia (cf. p. i 5p).

And of course, the Virgin Mary, who was as gentle as she was vengeful, as kind-hearted as she was brutal, was the patron saint not only of the Teutonic Order, which was soon to wage a fifty-year war of aggression, but also - how fitting - of Riga's merchant circles.

Church, war and capital - they are always triune.

Livonia was foreign land. None of it belonged to the Germans, the Church. But Albert I, Bishop of Riga, now took it piece by piece. And from year to year he also brought in his robbers, mainly noblemen and their followers from East Westphalia and Lower Saxony, often his relatives, quite a few of whom stayed and became owners of large latifundia. Without wanting to underestimate the "religious fervor of the Crusader era", Walther Hu- batsch nevertheless comes to the conclusion: -'In a remarkable way, mission and settlement was then a matter for a few large and close-knit families. *'

But just as the Christians fought each other everywhere, just as they killed each other, even on their crusades, in the "Holy Land", in Byzantium, during the Reconquista in Spain, so too, and with particular perseverance and doggedness, in the fight against the pagans in the north-east.

This began under Innocent III with the rivalries between the Bishop of Riga and the Order of the Swenbrothers over the rule of the ßeute, the Opfet, the Livonians, the Letren and the Estonians.

The Pope ruled in favor of the Sword Brothers, to whom Bishop Albert had already conceded a third of the land to be conquered in i ao7. Rome wanted a counterweight against the increasingly powerful prelates. But above all, as elsewhere, it wanted to have more and more say, to co-rule, to dominate and govern the whole. After all, it was the popes who made the transition from preaching to war possible" (tHauck), it was Innocent III who praised the Order of the Brothers of the Sword for having conquered Livonia for the pope, it was Innocent who made decisions on the introduction of church discipline, from canonical marriage law to confession and communion, for a country that had not yet been conquered!

And how significant: while Innocent had obviously regarded Riga as Brennan's bishopric until izio, recognized Albert as his sufha- gon, and Albert himself and the Brennan metropolitan understood their mutual relationship, the Roman declared on
zo. February i -*4. The Bishop of Riga had never been subordinate to a Metropolitan, but was rather exempt, Bremen was obliged to promote the mission, but was not authorized to lead it.
tigt. The Pope was to lead - on the Baltic Sea, in the Baltic States, across Europe, and thus also in Prussia. For the Prussian people also became more and more a victim of German-Roman crusade politics, and their country became a hotbed of missionary warfare in the East.

OLTP REUSSEN OD ER - **THE REC HT** D ER **INB** ES **ITZNA** TION **BY ERO** BERING ... -

The Prussians (Prussians, Old Prussians), whose vocabulary contains Germanic, but more Slavic loan words, were a Baltic people between the Vistula and Memel, farmers above all, cattle breeders less fishermen and hunters In their religion they worshipped many sacred places, sacred groves, rivers, forests; They worshipped "in their error all creatures as divine om- nem creaturam pro deo), namely the sun, moon and stars, donkeys, birds, even four-footed animals...-. However, it is horrible: -The Prussians had no knowledge of Gon- (Peter von Dusburg).

Thus, already around the turn of the millennium, they attracted the attention of Christian converts, St. Adalbert V yyi ff., 57*), Brun vow Querfurt (V şzq), both of whom ended up as martyrs, Adalbert997 İil Sainland, Brun twelve years later The Prussians recognized quite correctly that the mission also had an economic-political side and would lead to nothing other than conquest.

Now it took two centuries before the conversion of these pagans was again considered. A)s the pru- Benmissioii begun in -7, however, as a result of internet disputes between the Polish heroes involved

As the war against the Pru8es was in danger of failing, Conrad I, Duke of Mazovia (Mazowiecki) from the Lesser Poland-Mazovian line of the Piasts, who struggled all his life with Christian rivals for supremacy in Poland, called on the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Hermann von Salza, to wage war against the Pru8es. In the Treaty of Kruschwitz, the -illustris Christia- nissimus princeps" conferred on the Order of i6. june --3 the Kulmer Land and all future conquests in Prussia with all associated rights -for perpetual possession (Peter von Dusbur)q2$

A momentous decision by the duke - assuming that the Kruschwitz Treaty, the original document of which has disappeared, is not a forgery by the Teutonic Order, which is not only widely claimed by Polish historiography. However, the Order saw itself legitimized by the treaty to establish an independent dominion in Prussia. In the undated Golden Bull of Rimini (probably dated March i aa6), Emperor Frederick 11 had already granted it the Kulm Land and Prussia, where it was allowed to exercise jurisdiction (jurisdictionem) and sovereignty {potestatem), was allowed to use mountains and forests, rivers and the sea and was not accountable to anyone.

But where did the emperor get the right from? Apparently from his universal idea of world domination, domination especially over territories that were still pagan. And indeed, the actual legal basis for the act of bestowal was "the right to take possession by conquest (!) with the promise to Christianize the pagan territory in the east" (Lückerath).*

However, there was more than just one catch. For if the Golden Bull of Rimini was an imperial privilege, and the generous donation therefore belonged to the realm of the -monarchia im- periii-, then when the case became acute and the war against the Prussians had already begun, the -sacrum imperium" also had its say. For although the land of Preufia belonged to it a s little as it did to the Xaiseq, Pope Gregory IX I*34 *adopted it into the right and property of St. Peter and in turn granted it to the Teutonic Order,

Gregory left no doubt that the Teutonic Order was above all subject to the Church, even if the Master of the Order, Hermann von Salza, was "a little more" inclined towards the Emperor. The struggle for primacy between the emperor and the pope thus continued in the Baltic region. Each of the two Christian leaders wanted a decisive share in the plunder still to be carried out, basically wanted to own and control it,*7

The Teutonic Order began the fight against the Prussians iz3 i, based, so to speak, on its "right - the Kruschwitz Treaty of the previous year, against which the Prufieri fiercely resisted, repeatedly raised. Innocent IV granted i z§§ a unique privilege for their subjugation: a permanent crusade that no longer required any special proclamation. A little later, on

7- February - -4 , after the victory of the Teutonic Order, the papal legate Jacob, Arehidiakon of Liège, formulated the terms of peace in the Treaty of Christ- burg. A large part of the Prussians rose up again and resisted the Order until i- 4,

who struck back cruelly. But it was not until i a83 that the Prussians were able to finally

and forced to convert to the Christian faith. And it was not until the 7th century that they definitively merged with the Germans.

Research tells us that missionary work in the PruBenland was initially peaceful. Christian, a Cistercian monk from the Kolbatz monastery in Pomerania, like Pope Innocent Itl, favored "a non-violent mission . ... before a subjugation". in the same breath, however, it is stated: "A campaign by Waldemar in the year iaio against Prussia and Pomerelia - it is the year in which Haldemar {cf. also p. i7 $) conquered Denmark.

St. Peter - "served to support the missionary work".

But she is not making much progress. Christian, i zi J to the bishop (episcopus Prusciae) and consecrated by Rome especially since Honorius

III. can "no longer assert itself". So now three Polish dukes and Duke Wratislaw of Pomerania had to "support the missionary enterprise" {Handbook of European History). i zzz Duke Konrad of Mazovia then supported the mission.

sion enterprise by giving Bishop Christian several castles, including Kulm an der Deichsel, and a hundred villages.

And finally, Bishop Christian came to his own aid, so to speak, but again only militarily, when he founded the Order of the Knights Milites Christi de Prussia (de Dobrin), based in Do- *beim* an der Deichsel, not exclusively for the purpose of pagan warfare, but also for reasons of rivalry with the Teutonic Order, to which the Knights were, however, transferred. Bishop Christian had little luck at all, was held prisoner by the Prussians for about five years, then failed to regain his bishopric and died in 1944."

bREu SSENM i Ssiox oozn

" . .. KILLS YOU ALL

The Teutonic Knights {Ordo fratrum hospita)is sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum lerosolymitanorum), whose knights eventually unsettled the north-east in a white coat with a black cross, was the third of the great Palestinian knightly orders {VI 46o ff.) and was founded towards the end of the rz. century. However, its history was initially shrouded in darkness for decades, almost nothing is known of the first three Grand Masters, and the Order's attempts to acquire an independent territory and form an independent sovereignty failed sooner or later: in the Holy Land, its actual seat* due to the outcome of the Crusade; in Cyprus, where it failed as a result of the defeat of Frederick II; in Transylvania, where the un-
garian king• ••s expelled the order. It was only in Prussia that the Teutonic warriors - for the most part' as well as the Ordensstiftei; Germans - came to the fore a few years later - and it was one of the bloodiest missions of the Middle Ages*.

We possess the -Chronicle dex Prussia- Iandes- (Chronica terre Prussie), which was completed in 3zö, and with which the historiography of the Teutonic Order and the land of Prussia, which is located entirely in the central part of the country, was written.

is the center of attention. Written by the otherwise unknown local priest Peter von Dusburg, by far the largest part {36z chapters) of his work is devoted to the description of, it seems, almost everyday mutual slaughter, a single monotony of cruelty. The editors of the extensive chronicle, Klaus Schplz and Dieter Wojtecki, comment on this: -Dusburg's ... Dusburg's preference for the military, however, is still a depiction of the battle of the soldiers of God against the enemies of the faith. In this respect, the chronicler only recognizes Christians, who are allowed all means for their faith, and enemies of the faith, against whom all warlike measures are justified, from field battles to mortal combat man against man to the repeatedly practised abduction of women and children. Dusburg's position on the Order leaves no room for scruples, knows no regret for the enemy, knows nothing of sparing and tolerance based on faith. A rigid crusading spirit dominates here. -'°

It is clear from the outset that the PruBes - the unbelievers - who clung to the "idolatrous cult" were abysmally evil, "hardened in their wickedness". They ravaged the Kulmerland, devastated Poland, where, it is said, they burnt down "Ryo parish churches", chapels and monasteries, and killed priests outside and inside the churches, even at the altar, They also played "their shameful game" with young women consecrated to God, people who were always killing thousands of people *from God's -ve*)*ke-, who* lived there *for* his praise and glory, "so that the whole of Prussia seemed to be red with Christian blood". In short, to summarize Dusburg: -No one could fully describe how great evils and abominations they inflicted on the faith and the faithful.

It is only natural that the most holy father and Lord Pope Gregory IX felt compassion and called the Christians to battle in two bulls: -Arm yourselves and be strong, sons, be ready for battle against the heathen . ... do not hesitate, do not flinch and do not fear them ... . For it is not your battle, but God's. According to the chronicler, many wars have already been fought against the priests.

from Caesar to Swedish Christians, to Christian, the Bishop of Prussia, and his brother knights of Christ, the brothers of Dobrin. But now the Briders of the Teutonic Order are starting new wars against them, and not only the battle is new, but also the way of fighting, "because the enemy is not only defeated with material weapons, but also with spiritual weapons, namely with prayer."-*

In practice, it looked like this

-Thus I oO men of the Pomeranian army were slain by the brothers that day. The brothers thanked God for the victory and returned with rich spoils, rejoicing in the Lord.

" . a terrible battle ensued among them and of Swantopolk's army --so men remained dead on the battlefield, but none of the Christians were mortally wounded ... So the friars and the crusaders returned home with iöoo horses of the enemy, other overlarge booty and a glorious victory, which they had won with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ,
who is praised for ever and ever, amen."

" ... and after a long battle, in which there were many wounded and dead on both sides, they killed them all. Thus, by the grace of God, over 3ooo Samlanders and other Prussians were slain that day ..."

• ... captured part of the garrison and killed the rest. The Goy brothers then gave thanks, took possession of the castle in the year of Herf-*3s fRith their men and gloriously fought the battle of the Lord God of hosts against the Pru- *The*.

"Master Brother Henry ... gathered the brothers and pilgrims, went into battle and in the middle of Christmas night, while the people were resting, came to a Pomesan castle, which lay on the site of today's Old Christburg; they placed ladders on the walls, entered secretly and conquered the castle, the inhabitants were all captured and killed ..." A nice surprise, in the middle of Christmas night. And that's why the Poyriesan castle,
• because they were conquered by the faithful in the Christian era.

wat; the name Christburg, that is: the castle of Christ {vocatum est Crisrburgk, quod interpretatur castrum Cristi)-.

. and then slew the sinners in their wrath. There the curved sword of the Christian knighthood devoured the flesh of the unbelievers ... and thus a great bloodbath was caused among the people of the Prussians; on that day over yooo fell. Then the crusaders all returned home rejoicing and praising the grace of the Savior."-*

Usually, however, the evil enemy is defeated without any spiritual weapons.

Contrary to earlier assurances (cf. p. i 88), ec is always beaten and slain in the good old way, without prayer or God. With gruesome monotony *it is* said again and again: -The brothers attacked them in a battle, killed them all ... - -

".. . destroyed them completely, so that none of them remained." -

" . what the fire could consume, they burned down, killing many, capturing women and children and returning with enormous booty." -

• ... many people were captured and slain in the castle and its grounds, and the whole area was devastated by robbery and fire.

fmmer and again and again one reads there:

• ... and caught and killed many people ..." -

-... ...and they will destroy the entire **army** ... - -

• ... killed all the men and took away women and children with all their possessions." -

• ... and killed and captured all their enemies.

• ... captured them all and killed them." -

-Here they killed countless men, ravaged the land with fire and plunder, and carried off women and children as captives.

• ... destroyed the three siege works from the ground up, so that hardly any of the *3-OMann who were supposed to defend them escaped death." -

• ... and killed more than two thousand of the army of the Gentiles.

• ... and killed all the pagans with the 5sword.

" . the brothers hanged 3o prufi hostages on a gallows in front of the castle gate." -

• ... they gouged out the eyes of the prufi hostages ... and sent them back to their relatives.-°-

Our chronicler of the Order occasionally does not conceal what he almost considers to be certain litterations. For example, he reports a battle with heavy losses on both sides: - In the end, however, the Prussians retained the upper hand according to the will of the Lord and killed zo brothers and their entire army.- Another time it says: "and in the end, according to the will of the Lord, whose judgment is incomprehensible, they killed the master; the marshal Brother Dietrich, So brothers and the whole Christian army."

However, the fiasco is immediately compensated for by a miracle; a hermit on the battlefield - later often at night - sees burning candles, which clearly proved that the slain had immediately received the martyr's crown from the King of Martyrs". The citizens of Elbing experienced something similar, only more beautiful. The priests had shed so much Christian blood there,
"that the neighboring brook lost its natural color and appeared bloody". But now many tell, and they may be believed without doubt, that during these events many stood on the walls of the city of Elbing and saw the heavens opened as in a spectacle and experienced that the souls of the dead were led in by angels.

-Unnoticed-, judges H. Boockmann, "a strict objective
- Peter von Dusburg wants to persuade the friars not to let up in the heathen struggle by remembering the battles of their predecessors - the chronicle is a valuable testimony ... for the reported events." -'

One example proves that the author - who admits to having seen little of all this himself and to having learned most of it from eyewitnesses and, of course, "from credible stories" - should be treated with caution, like most historians. Hartmud von Grumbach, the fifth master of the Prussian land, is said to have burned two brothers of his order, who were collaborating with the Prussians, in front of the Elbingians.

let. The pope was so angry about this that he ordered the master to be deposed from his office and to punish him and all those on whose advice this was done with a year's penance.- In reality, the bull of Alexander IV of January i6, iz6i speaks neither of deposition nor of a year's penance. On the contrary: in it, the Pope absolves the master of the order who burnt his brothers.

G RE G O" IX. STtiR2T D IE STE DI N GER ^ I Bf D IE GRUB E D RR VERDAMMN IS "

Contrary to the clergy's assertion, the battle against the Stedinger was not about -heresy-, but quite simply about a peasant uprising, one of the countless peasant uprisings throughout the centuries of Christian Eden, even if historians usually overlook them until well into the modern era.

The Stedingeq, a Saxon-Frisian farming people, inhabited the Weserflufimarschen of the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg. They had wrested their land from the floods of the river and the sea, were free people with some independence, with self-elected judges and their own laws. Of course, they also had the Archbishops of Bremen, the Counts of Oldenburg, who themselves were once again fighting with each other over so-called rights, over and against them. And the metropolitan of Bremen in particular insisted on payments, levies and tithes, which they no longer provided. Various documents, the chronicle of the monastery of Rastede, the Annales Colonienses maximi, show that the real reason for the conflict was the refusal to pay taxes.

The rebellion began at the beginning of the i 3rd century, when the -The bailiffs {niilitares) and bailiffs {advocati) of the Zwwingherren attacked the women and girls of the peasants. They then set fire to the castles of Lichtenberg (Legtenberge) and Linen (Lyne) and expelled the Bcsatzungen. In the year• • 7 , the Archbishop of Bremen, Hartwig, undertook a military campaign in the Stedingen region, but apparently not in order to defend the peasants because of the Auhtandes,

not at all to be called to account, but because of the tribute due. He wanted -pecunia-, and when the Stedinger gave in, he also returned -pecunia accepta*-.

In the years that followed, the clergy had enough to deal with as they were occupied with an old case, the so-called chapter dispute between Bremen and Hamburg. The dispute, which had already begun in i 6o, had been raging for many decades over the rights of the Hamburg cathedral chapter within the archdiocese, especially the rights to elect bishops. Ecclesiastical and secular princes, including the emperor and the pope, were involved, and all kinds of advocacy tricks came into play. Archbishops Haldemar and Burchard excommunicated and banished each other, and the latter even took violent action and conquered Stade with Danish support.

Even the almost omnipotent Innocent III was unable to resolve the matter by the usual means, which is why he openly incited revolution in the archbishopric and drove the Stedinger (!) against Bishop Waldemar, to whom they initially adhered, with the Holy Father expressly promising them forgiveness of their sins for the battle. So they shared in the victory, Haldemar was expelled, and the new Archbishop Gerhard, a Count of Oldenburg, moved into Bremen and favored the Stedingers until his death. However, upon the election of his successor and nephew, Archbishop Gerhard II, a Count of Lippe, the dispute between Hamburg and Bremen began again until it was finally settled i zz3°.

However, the Stedinger dynasty was a thorn in the side of the new metropolitan. They did not swallow his sovereign demands, but resisted, for example, participating in his campaign against the Danes {including the battle of za. J-* •°°7 near Bornhöved), preferring instead to take part in a crusade in order to avoid their duty to follow the land. They also apparently continued to refuse the taxes demanded. For this is why the shepherd of the souls sent them a letter (Pro detentione decime et tributi debiti solvendi).

• ••9 The Stedinger family, however, were victorious, and the leader of their enemies, the archbishop's brother Count Hermann zur Lippe, fell.

In the following year, Gerhard - by the grace of God" declared the Ste- things to be heretics, as it was obvious that they "despise the keys of the Church and the sacraments, that they consider the teachings of our holy Mother of the Church to be rubbish, that they attack and kill clergymen of every rule and order-, that they plunder, break oaths, give information to evil spirits, consult fortune-tellers and commit other detestable works of filth. The man of God therefore commanded them to be "considered heretics and burned". A synod of the Bremen church confirms this in corpore a7- March i k3O.

Year for Jallt} **3*. -z3z and i 233, now Pope Gregory IX issued one furious bull after another against the peasants. Scream follows letter, -not without horror and shuddering", and there are few crimes that the Holy Father does not visit upon them. They plunder, desecrate churches, trample the body of the Lord underfoot, spare no age, no sex, and of course no priests." They indulge in their bloodlust, as if they had been fed on the breasts of wild animals. They mock God, are unbelieving, irrational, insane. The Pope therefore knows no other alternative

as St. Bernard had already done during the Wendish Crusadei< 47 .): neither to convert the Stedingers nor to "eradicate their unbelief", to plunge them "into the pit of damnation", whereby he

grants everyone the same indulgences as the crusaders in the Holy Land.

country'.

Dert HöliepunJtt reaches the papaJe hustle in the third bull * *7• J*•› ia33. In it, the Stedingeners are portrayed as godless people incited by the devil, and as - enemies of God - they "raised their weapons even more fiercely against the Catholic faith. The Pope claims, -- o of woe and horror - ... they lay hands on the clergy ..." t o r m e n t them with every kind of torture, claims that "they shed blood like water, t e a r priests and monks to pieces like beasts of prey, crucify them, nail them to the wall in mockery of the Crucified". He reminds us that in earlier letters, "on the forgiveness of our sins, he had already urged *the believers in Christ ... to be* zealous and insistent in their efforts to destroy the godless people", and urges us to

only right now when these -curse-laden people .... harden themselves in their curse-worthy obduracy and do not want to return to the bosom of our mother, the church .... then you should - because in such a severe and violent illness, in which light medicines are of no use, stronger remedies should be used and for the wounds that ointments do not heal, *fire and iron should be used to cut out the rotten flesh* - against them, as against their archers helpers and patrons call to their aid the power of the spiritual and the woolen sword, exhort all believers in Christ most zealously and urge them most emphatically to rise up for their Christ and *manohah* to gird up their loins against them. But those Catholics who take up the sign of the cross and set out to exterminate the heretics should enjoy the same indulgence and be endowed with the same **testimonies of favor that are** bestowed on the crusaders going to the Holy Land.

In the meantime, several crusades had been waged against the Stedingen, who were almost asleep, their women and children had been robbed and their villages set on fire. But just as the first crusade failed, so did the one at the end of June

-33- At that time, the eastern Stedingerland, which was not involved in the conflict and was defenceless, was ravaged, and regardless of age or gender, the inhabitants were killed and the prisoners burned. "De pelegrime", reports the Saxon Chronicle, -ye-ren mit groteme here und vole, beyde mit scepen to waterc unde aver land, ... und roweden alle dat Lande und branden it; man unde wil unde kinder sloch men dot mer den verhunderr, unde
men levende veng, de *brande* men." However, when the fortified western area was also **attacked,** the leader, Count Bur- chard von Oldenburg, and zoo crusaders **were** killed.

After another of the archbishop's particularly perfidious attempts at persecution had failed - the drowning of the peasants in late autumn by destroying their dykes - the final act of the tragedy b e g a n the following year. lu All over Lower Germany, the advertising drums had been beaten, in Holland, Flanders, Brabant and even in England. -Abbot saw "like storm clouds" {quasi nubes)

Emmo von Witt-Werum the preacher monks overrun the lands. In the spring of -i4 --pilgrims gathered in Bremen" - Count Hoensbroech, the flower of the German nobility and its
In°7 May they advanced northwards, led by Duke Henry of Brabant, followed by clergymen with banners and crosses, and at Altenesch the Stedingep, who, relatively poorly armed, desperately fought against the invaders.
almost completely. More than six thousand people lay on the battlefield, others fell ill as they fled across the Weset; while the clergy looked on from a hill, singing ... The rest of the people left the country forever.

For centuries, the church in Bremen celebrated the Battle of Altenesch, according to Exjesuit Hoensbroech (i qo y) one of the cruelest and bloodiest acts in German history in the name of Christianity. The clergy in Bremen, however, celebrated the bloodbath with hymns, sermons and processions in honor of the godly. And wasn't it worth it? The prelates of Bremen were given the right bank of the Wese, the Counts of Oldenburg the left bank - and the people of Stedin erected a monument on the battlefield on z7 May i 83 .4

But we, like so many others, have sometimes rushed ahead of the course of events and therefore say like Bishop Otto of Freising: - Sed iam ad hystoriam revertamur - (But now back to the
History: Chron. 7,p) - ztlrück zti the last years of Otto £\i, back to the arrival of Frederick II, with whom the struggle between the emperorship and papacy culminated.

CHAPTER 6

EMPEROR FRIEDRICH II. (x zqq-i zyo) AND THE POPES INNOCENCE III, HONORIUS III, GREGOR IX.

-It seems to me that it is not advantageous to take action against him for the following reason: If this boy comes t o h i s s e n s e s and realizes that he is deprived of the power of the empire by the Roman Kizcke, then he will not only deny her the reverence she deserves, but will even fight her in every possible way, wildly tearing Sicilicn's royal family from her ligament and refusing her the usual obedience.

Pope Innocent IX on Frederick II'.

-The ßestie full of names of blasphemy rises from the sea, raging with the paws of the bear and with the jaws of the lion, and with the rest of her limbs she opens her mouth like a leopard to blaspheme the divine name ... With iron claws and teeth it wants to crush everything and **stamp the whole world with** its **feet**

... Bticket to the head, the middle and the end of this beast: to Friedrich, the so-called Koisec-

Pope Gregory IX on Frederick fl.

-The sacredness of the royal power conferred on Us by heaven and the majesty of the imperial dignity bestowed on Us by the Lord compel Us t o draw the white sword, which We wield in contrast to the priestly dignity, against the enemies of the faith and to root out heretical infamy, so that We may persecute with just judgment the serpent-sons of unbelief who insult God and the Church, like profaners of the womb, and not allow to live the evil-doers by whose seductive lies the world is poisoned and the hearts of the faithful are severely damaged as by **mangy** scales ...

Furthermore, all candles f o u n d in the cities, towns or other places of the realm by the inquisitors appointed by the Apostolic See and other zealots for the defensive faith are to be sold by those who believe in

The Catholic Church, which has jurisdiction o v e r the one in question, i s imprisoned and kept in strict custody on the complaint of the inquisitors and other Catholic men until they are condemned by ecclesiastical sentence and handed over to a shameful death because they have spurned the sacraments of faith and life ...
Moreover, We deprive the protectors and favorers of the heretics of the grace of appeal, since We are willing to eradicate in every way the germs of heretical displeasure from the borders of Germany, where faith has always been pure. - From the "heretic" laws of Friedrich li.

-We, old kings and princes of the earth, especially the Zealots for the lawful faith and religion, have an open and common hatred against the prelates and a very special, but secret quarrel with Our ecclesiastical princes. For these abuse their pernicious freedom, degrade Our goods and titles by secret machinations, abuse the good advice of Our devotion, and if the harm done to individuals is not enough to bring Us down, they take up arms together and conspire in secret to mix the holy and the unholy to destroy Our life." - Frederick II to his son-in-law, the Emperor John II. Dukas Vaatzes of Nicaea, in the year i zq8*

He was a cunning man, cunning, miserly, extravagant, malicious and hot-tempered. Occasionally, however, he also showed addictive qualities when he was willing to prove his kindness and generosity; then he was friendly, cheerful, full of grace and noble aspirations. He could read, write, sing and invent cantilenas and gestures. He was a handsome, well-built man, though only of medium stature. I saw him and revered him for a while." Salimbtne of Parma'

Frederick's predecessor Otto IV's quarrel with the pope begins into and soon leads to ever sharper forms, ever worse complaints from Innocent about the character of the man who calls himself emperor. Although he had crowned Otto himself only a year and a few months earlier (p. 8o), the crowned man soon laughed at his promises and continued the Hohenstaufen imperial policy in Italy. Still king by the grace of God and the pope, Otto now decided, summoned by Apulian barons and German lords, to advance on Sicily. Many princes then left him and returned to Germany, but there were also isolated arrivals from there, although the **main force of** the army consisted **of** Italians.

In August, the emperor attacked the border towns in the north of the

"Patrimonium Petri- and in November invaded the hereditary realm of the young Hohenstaufen Frederick, in mainland Sicily. The pope's greatest fear, the Unio regni ad imperium - the clutching of the Papal States - thus seemed imminent. In a letter, Innocent complained to the German bishops that he had forged for himself the sword that was now wounding him so deeply and that he regretted it, so with a strong appeal to x. Sam. i y,z i to have made this man king. He feels, he writes on i. February I 2.I I to King Philip H. Augustus of France, he felt cruelly disregarded. Otro was not only seeking Frederick's inheritance in Germany, but was already stretching out his hand to Sicily, contrary to his promise, even announcing that all the kings of the world would soon be subject to his rule.

The relaunch of the Hohenstaufen policy by the very man who was to be Innocent's tool was the greatest humiliation, the worst turn of his life, an embarrassment he had never expected. He excommunicated Ono and his helpers shortly after his invasion of the Sicilian empire, on November i 8, i a xo, just one year after his coronation as emperor, but without formally deposing him. And on Maundy Thursday of the next year, March 5, i zi i, the ban was repeated, as usual, and all the oaths he had taken were annulled. Innocent now held the Guelph like no other. He stirred up apostasy in Italy and Germany, where he sent legals around, harsh monks, and also agitated accordingly in France.

In the meantime, the emperor, almost as if on a triumphal procession, advanced unperturbed into Apulia, into Calabria; favored by the nobility overflowing almost everywhere and the collaboration of Clement, who cared neither for Otto's casual invasion of the Tuscan Pa- trimonium nor for the Pope's ban and interdict. Even the bishop of Melfi, who had just made his diocesans swear allegiance to King Frederick, was now the first to run towards the emperor and declared, at least in so far as he was a sincere priest, that he would rather lose his honor than his income. For lnnozenz, however, the Guelph was now the godless persecutor; like the devil, a tyrant, dragon, the -excommunicatus et maledictus". In the spring, the young Frederick offered all of Swabia and thousands of pounds of gold and syllables, which he perhaps no longer possessed, to the rapidly approaching king. But Otto -played on it, broke into Calabria and Basilicata as early as September and, summoned to attack by Sicilian Saracens, believed that he would soon have the island too. And Frederick really was there, -regulus, not rex", deprived of almost all his cities, castles and provinces apart from Palermo, he always had a ship ready to flee to Africa in the harbor of the capital, next to Castellamare, to save his bare life.

In the process of abec, with the help of the Pisan fleet, the Straits of

After the success of the curial rebellions and uprisings on both s i d e s of the Alps in October, Otto was compelled to turn back before crossing Messina - and perhaps the easiest way to s o l v e his problem would have been a rapid assault on the island. However, messengers from Germany reported the election of the sixteen-year-old Frederick as Roman king and future emperor in Nuremberg in September (where Laridgraf Her- man of Thuringia was among the opposition of the princes, changing sides for the sixth time). The messengers reported, greatly exaggerated, turmoil in the empire, envoys from Lombardy also implored the emperor to break off the war, and et, horrified by the treachery of the Greats, lost his composure and lost control of the whole situation.

Immediately before the certain victory, he broke off the campaign, and on the way back, weeks of negotiations with the pope, who did nothing t o eliminate Otto, broke down again in order to undermine the imperial power with all diplomatic tricks and a thousand kisses of intrigue. Innocent now praised rebels, such as Archbishop Ubald of Ravenna, and threatened those loyal to the emperor, such as Bologna, with banishment and interdict, and even with the loss of the famous university.

Even on the other side of the Alps, where - throughout the German Empire, be-

at least according to the emperor-friendly "Annales Marbacenses", When the "highest peace and harmony" prevailed in Otto's time, even in his absence, Innocent - in alliance with Philip, the French king, friend of the Hohenstaufen and enemy of the Guelphs - put an end to this much longed-for state of affairs. He openly called for outrage, for apostasy. He not only ordered the excommunication of the Guelphs to be proclaimed everywhere, but also appealed to the German princes to overthrow Otio immediately with a counter-king, whereby it should not happen to them -that you do not want to if you *can,* and never can if you want to.

The emperor, who crossed the snow-covered Alps in late winter, was in Frankfurt in March. And since in the meantime, at the instigation of Philip of France, the exiled Otto had been declared deposed in Nuremberg and Frederick U. had been elected king {s. above), the horrors of the civil war began once again in Germany.

war, especially in the Archbishopric of Mainz. For there Siegfried H., acting on papal instructions and still on Otto's side, had taken sides with the Hohenstaufen at the turn of the year izII. And because he was also one of the opposition leaders, Otto's brother Henry I, Count Palatine of the Rhine, ravaged the archbishopric with all his might, assisted by Duke Henry of Brabant, one of the most powerful princes and also a frequent front changer in the conflict over the throne, along with the Lorraine nobility.

Even more successful was the Imperial Prince Gunzelin von Wol- fenbüttel against another rebel shark, the Landgrave of Thuringia, whose territory he devastated less to the detriment of the prince than his peasants. After all, all these wars did not really affect the greats, but the defenceless peasants, whose houses and farms often went up in flames.

And the very next year, Thuringia was burned again. This time in the presence of the emperor, who quickly regained the upper hand and was on the verge of victory, probably not only in Thuringia, which was ravaged by -- <' *5< men, while his
Staufer's wife Beatrix died and he was appointed courier of the friendly
Patriarch of Aquileia, Wolfger von Erla, reported that the young Frederick was on his way from Sicily to Germany and was already in Genoa. "Listen," Otto sneered, as the Swabians were already leaving his army and the Bavarians were following them, "the priest is coming and wants to drive us out. -

T H E P AFE R KAI SER COM ES

Frederick II had lost his father at the age o f three, his mother at the age of four, and had then grown up on the island, with little supervision as the mouth of the pope, who never set foot in Sicily, under evening, occasionally life-threatening circumstances. He obviously did not have his own tutor, at least not for any length of time. The king was self-taught, and he acquired his enormous, later

often admired knowledge through

himself, reading late into the night from the age of two, with a penchant for history. During the day, the young man, who was of medium height but strong, as agile as he was persevering, practiced various weapons; he was particularly talented at fencing, a passionate horseman and a good archer.

In the year iao8, the Pope betrothed the fourteen-year-old to Constance, the sister of King Peter of Aragon, who was at least ten years his senior, not without pressure. And in the same year on z6. On Frederick's fifteenth birthday on December 6, the pope resigned as regent of Sicily.

The young prince, self-confident but without exaggeration, immediately seized the helm of the state. And although he only commanded limited *power*, in September i Log he crushed an uprising by the Sicilian and Calabrian barons, who once again thought their time had come' and regained part of the crown property. However, when the Apulian magnates under Diepold von Schweinspeunt, the Count of Acerra, whom he himself appointed Grand Justiciary of Apulia, staged a coup and the Germans immediately sided with the Guelph, it seemed that Frederick's end had come at the hands of Otto, who invaded Italy for the first time in over ten years, made Diepold Duke of Spoleto and was already about to cross over to Sicily in the fall of i zi z (p. voo f.).

Just then, however, Swabian envoys appeared in Palermo and offered Frederick the German crown. The eighteen-year-old grandson of Barbarossa, who no longer had much in Sicily, had to win Germany if he wanted to keep Sicily. Of course, he ran the risk of losing everything. Many in Palermo therefore tried to persuade him to stay, especially as his wife Constance, the eldest daughter of King Alfonso of Aragon and dowager Queen of Hungary, (her second marriage had been dissolved at the Pope's instigation and Frederick's engagement to Constance's younger sister Sancha had previously been dissolved in favor of the new union). However, the sraufer followed the call from the north, and Constance, who had just married Henry {VII), her only son, remained behind as regent (i xu-i ai6).

France was firmly on Fricdrich's side. Philip II, who had always been an enemy of the Guelphs, pulled out all the stops for the Hohenstaufen. And under Philip's influence, the Pope, Priedrich's secular suzerain, also supported his candidacy. The risky decision may not have come easily to Innocent, as he was full of reservations about Frederick Way and wanted to confine him as his vassal to Sicily forever and keep him away from imperial politics. However, he now did everything in his power to promote him, without foreseeing the devastating struggle between the emperor and the Church that followed, not to mention other serious events, the Angevin reign, the Sicilian Vespei and the Avignon Exit.

Frederick had expressly sworn in February i zi z not to subjugate anything against Innocent and his legitimate successors, but rather to defend them and their territory, the land of St. Peter, thus once again declaring himself the Pope's vassal and guaranteeing the separation of 5izilíen from the Empire, as well as the concessions of his uncle Philip and Otto IV.

After such provisos, Frederick conceded himself King of Sicily and also had his son Henry (VII) crowned King of Sicily, the future ruler of the Lower Sicilian Empire, which the Pope did not want to see in one hand with the German Empire.

Frederick and his small entourage embarked on the Mine March I II Z İfl Messina. He did not even travel on his own galley. In Rome he was received with pomp by lnnozcnz in April - the only meeting between the two - and was also financed for his stay and onward journey (which did not last long; Gentia had already given Frederick a further £400 for the time he would be emperor", and Pavia was also generous). But there was nothing for nothing, especially not for a king - by the grace of God and the Pope - as whom he was crowned.

And finally - hadn't the good father Innozeriz already done something for his dear Miindel? For his rights, his protection, his umbrella, his peace? How insistent it all was

long since documented in black and white, how he was able to -Frederick's "early meal became a night meal", Frederick "spent sleepless nights", Frederick's "brothers and relatives ... not spared" and -tired the pens of the notaries and used up the ink of the scribes! - Yes, -with tireless activity" he had always taken care of him, he had "put aside -implements that came from all over the world" and had repeatedly taken on "many and heavy troubles" for him and his empire, at times, yes, -great and weighty expenses", to which Innocent came not only once. "What shall We say," he moans, "about the many and considerable costs that We have incurred for the various and diverse needs of Your kingdom?)

So now the "son of the Church", as the Pope called him, had to give the

Innocent not only had to take the oath of allegiance to his feudal lord, but also to assure him in black and white that he owed him everything next to Gotr, which was true, even if everything Innocent did for him was entirely in his, Innocent's, own interest.

For example, when he almost constantly sent legals with troops to Sicily, which was after all his feudal state Quite apart from the fact that he presented the young prince with a bill for his expenses, at least zz Boo \Jnzen in gold, for which Frederick, for which Frederick, in addition to the already pledged territory of the monastery of Monte Cassino and the counties of Aquino, Pagano and 5ora, also had to pledge the county of Fondi together with all the land up to Gari- gliano, border areas that the high priest had long had his eye on; he knew only too well what game he was playing with the

"Son of the Church", and allegedly predicts: If this boy one day realizes that the Roman Church has robbed him of the honor of the empire, he will not only deny her due reverence, but will even fight her in every possible way, will tear Sicily's kingship from her fiefdom and refuse her the usual obedience.'-.

Protected by friends, hunted by enemies, the -chint von Pulle- arrived during the summer xzi z without troops, without money,

after an adventurous, incredibly happy, but not unbloody journey, in which more than once everything was at stake, to the north: via Cremona to Mantua, then from Verona up the Adige Valley, finally via Chur to St. Gallen, where the
Abbot gave 3°° horsemen as escort. But before Constance, on the other side of Lake Constance, at Überlingen, Emperor Otro was already encamped to enter Constance as well, where his servants
and kitchen had already been prepared for the reception. But after much wavering, the local bishop Konrad, influenced by Archbishop Berard von Bart, who read the papal curse on the emperor, did not accept Otto into the city, which probably decided both their fates.

GE LD + BES ITZ = EH RE
BUT ENOUGH IS NOT ENOUGH

From Basel, where the Bishop of Strasbourg led another 5oo men to the "Peacock Emperor", as the Guelphs called him, across the ElsaB, the most beloved of our German hereditary lands, the seventeen-year-old Hohenstaufen, who hardly knew any German at all, marched his way unhindered, without a single stroke of the sword, a single road of enthusiasm, of victory. Here and there, the people rose up, slaughtered the emperor's garrisons, the influx on Frederick's side increased like an avalanche, as did his promises, which he had to make to the chronically greedy, land- and money-hungry grandees and which were more generous than his thrifty opponent (occasionally mocked by Walther von der Vogelweide), - he would be as mild as if he had long possessed many virtues"), also wanted to fulfill, as soon as ez, -with God's help-, would have money (quanrocius Deo dante pecuniam habuerimus), because for nothing, just for the "Honor imperii", no one wanted to have come, no one wanted to have broken his oath, no one wanted to swear a new one, whether secular; spiritual prince; quite apart from the fact that they believed they could hold their own better against the -Puer Apuliae- than against the warlike and rather stingy emperor.

Because, of course, it was only about the high nobility, the high clergy. The people were allowed to cheer and look on. Duke Frederick III of Upper Lorraine, Frederick's cousin, expected 3ooo marks for his accession plus soo marks for his domestics. The bishop of Speyer, Konrad von Scharfenberg, the sinister witness of the Bamberg king

The king's murderer (p. 7 1, who glosses over his apostasy with flimsy excuses, allows himself to be rewarded with the bishopric of Metz without giving up his previous bishopric - and continues the office of imperial court caricaturist, which was administered under Philip like Otto, under Frederick One has no scruples, one refuses renunciations, demands rewards, allows oneself to confirm old privileges, pay for the new attachment, that is: allows oneself to be bribed. Money and possessions always take precedence over honor, they make honor; only those who are poor have no honor.

Frederick's charters from this period are full of endowments and promises, and of course the recipients cannot be fobbed off with empty words. The future emperor had to securitize, pledge, persuade his supporters to provide guarantees, had to give up entire imperial estates to the king of Bohemia, for example, who was the first imperial prince to receive great favours from Frederick. In a meeting on iq. November iziz on the imperial border with the Capetian heir to the throne Louis VIII, who was fighting for the English kingship together with his father, the old anti-Welfish pact was renewed. The French court, finally the initiator of Ffiedrich's uprising, sends the penniless man zo ooo marks, and he immediately gives it to the higher nobility, of course, and, according to the chronicler, "a general rejoicing arose in his favor ...".

The other side, King John of England, also set money boats in motion, giving sometimes iooo, sometimes qooo, sometimes io ooo marks, showering the entire northwest with lavish subsidies. But Otto is still not satisfied. He moves to the Lower Rhine, to Cologne, the former stronghold of the Guelphs. And at almost the same time, while he was holding a miserable court meeting in Aachen with only a few princes and combatants, the child from Apulia was being honored by a large assembly of nobles in Frankfurt in the presence of the ge- nobility.

The King of Rome was formally elected once again by the Pope and the King of France on . Decem- ber rain - the German sources usually refer to the act of state as an imperial election - and four days later, on g. December in Mainz. The corona- dead archbishop there, Siegfried II, had been committed to Emperor Otto until the beginning of the previous year."

Just a few months after his arrival in Germany, on -- July i* 3, Frederick, with the consent of many princes, on the occasion of the most holy feast of Pentecost in the infamous golden bull of Eger, grants his - protector and benefactor Innocent, by whose kindness, toil and care he was educated, protected and promoted, all his possessions. That is, all the territories claimed by the papacy, whether with or without legal title, confirmed to him not only the old patrimony, not only Spoleto and Ancona, not only the Matildic estates; but also the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, Sardinia, Corsica and the kingdom of Sicily.

It was, as it were, the prelude to a long series of territorial losses by the kingdom. The king even wanted to acquire estates for the church, to which it still had unrealized claims, "as a loyal son and Catholic prince". Furthermore, Frederick, who in this important privilege handed over the German Church to Rome, also renounced any involvement in the election of bishops and abbots, without even considering the right of supervision granted to the king in the Concordat of Worms; he renounced any restriction on clerical appeals, renounced the right of spolia and guaranteed intensive assistance in the "hunt for heretics".

It was not enough for the head of the Church that the king testified to all this in the presence of numerous princes ("presentibus subscriptis principibus imperii et nobilibus spondeo ... ."). It was not enough for him that the great lords conceded as clearly as possible in a subsequent addendum to the definitive surrender of the previous imperial possessions. No, they had to certify their consent to Frederick's proclamations once again, both individually and in cor- pore, and even sign this certification a second time later. In this way, however, the versatile jurist pope received from Frederick

not just a personal promise, but a kind of imperial privilege."

THE GERMAN THRO NSTRE IT WILL Ix FRENCH CH ENTS CH IE D EN

In addition, the civil war in Germany continued to rage in•*3 . Emperor Otto frittered away his forces with nervous individual actions in his native Saxony, as he had previously done on the Lower Rhine, and throughout the summer he particularly ravaged the territory of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, then raged terribly in Thuringia, which in the fall, advancing from southern Germany, also reached Frederick as far as Magdeburg.
burg, with the bishops of Würzburg, MeiBen, Merseburg, Naumburg, the Archbishop of Magdeburg and the Abbot of Reichenau fighting on his side, while the infamous Bohemians and Moravians plundered the Hohenstaufen continent, enemy and friend alike, but probably did Otto himself the least harm. And no sooner had they departed laden with booty than the emperor burst forth again from the stronghold of Brunswick, singing and burning over the lands - which was {not only} one of the most important duties of government at the time."

No one achieved any outstanding successes; indeed, the emperor had obviously halted Frederick's initial triumphal march, despite his superiority. Also, the decision in the German throne dispute was not made in Germany at all, but in the final battle between England and £- France, more precisely in the Battle of Bouvines, in which Priedrich was not even involved.

John Ohneland { i iqq-i zi6), the last surviving son of Henry II, was already defeated i ao6 in the war against France, which put an end to the - Angevin Empire-, the empire of the Plantagenéts founded i* s4 *-n Henry II, which encompassed England and large areas of western France. (In England itself, however, the dynasty ruled until the accession of the Tudors iq85; probably the last male Plantagenét, Edward,

Earl of Warwick, was executed in *49s). And when, after the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury *Hul'en* Walters, the Pope appointed Stephen Langton as his successor, but the King

When the King of England fiercely resisted the Pope and wanted to bring his advisor John de Gray, the Bishop of Norwich, to the archseat, there were years of quarrels between the Pope and the King, which led to the latter's banishment and the imposition of the Interdict on England { iao8 to IL*4)- Innocent asked the French monarch to invade the island. But when the cornered Briton, in desperation, submitted to the Pope and took England as a fief from him, Innocent now strictly forbade the Capetians to wage war, and Joharin Ohrieland now attacked France for his part.'-.

In the spring of xxx they landed in La Rochellr, at the same time the German emperor came from the east and the Capetian was caught in a dangerous pincer attack that was to crush his power. But first King John was severely defeated by the French heir to the throne (Louis VIII) in Poitou, then King *Otto was defeated* in Flanders by the outnumbered army of Phil- t]3fi äffl*7- Jtili i zi at the Battle of Boiivines east of Lille

so completely defeated that he could not recover from it

and the Hohenstaufen-Welfish war for the throne in Germany was definitively resolved in favor of Frederick II. Otto IV returned to his homeland, where he remained for the last few years, fighting bloody battles of only local significance, until he died in i9. May ZZI8, at the age of thirty-five, isolated and depressed, he died at Hamburg, noting in his will -to save our souls- the tooth of the Baptist (dentem sancti Johannis baptiste).

The slaughter of Bouvines also proved fateful for France and England, as the latter lost its landholdings north of the Loire on September i 8, xa q in the Treaty of Chinon, having already surrendered Norinandie and most of Poitoti ten years earlier. What it had brought together since io66 was now lost again.

In addition, the defeat of Bouvines in England led to the open

In June izi5 , the barons' rebellion forced King John to agree to the Magna Charta, the "Great Charter of Liberties". This most important Old English fundamental law, the basis of the British parliamentary constitution, contains a wealth of fiscal, legal and social provisions, whereby it was primarily directed against the growing arbitrariness of the kingship and particularly secured the claims of the barons, but also made other demands concerning the guarantees of civil rights, the course of legal proceedings, the legal protection of underage heirs, widows, property, personal freedom and so on. It is noteworthy that the baronial opposition also found the resolute support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, the former papal protégé in the fight against the king. However, as Innocent was now on the king's side, he now suspended the archbishop and annulled the Magna Carta as a dismantling o f his vassal's rights.

While contemporary historiography in France celebrated the triumph of the regnum Francorum and Philip II himself as the continuator of the glorious line of Carolingian-Caporetian kings, as the "augustus" and -rex fortunatissimus", he had indeed prepared the ground for the monarchy in Francia, the neighboring imperial empire widely revealed its fragmentation. Since then, according to one chronicler, the Abbot of Lauterberg,

-The reputation of the Germans among the "Welschen", especially as the dispute over the throne not only led to losses of imperial rights, such as the loss of spolia and regalia in the event of vacancies in bishoprics, the admission of appeals to the Curia, etc., but also to the loss of imperial territory. For example, at the end of i • • 4
and Elde King Waldemar II of Denmark (p. *75) by a
German land for its partisanship under an international treaty.
in favor of the Staufer.

On the other hand, however, the king of the Sicilian empire recognized by Innocent, Frederick ö., elevated with the pope's consent to Roman-German king and future emperor, was perfectly prepared for the very thing that the papacy had wanted to prevent at almost all costs, the - Unio regni ad imperium-.

The FOURTH LATERANU M (Z 2 i y) - AGAINST THE QU DEN, AGAINST DIP. - KET2ER" AND FOR A 1 NEW WAR

Despite all the triumphs of Innocent III, without whom hardly anything decisive would have happened in the Western world: - many things did not go according to his ideas or proved to be impracticable in the first place - many things forced him to make concessions, duplications, contradictions and lies. Indeed, Eduard Winkelmann, whom I am following here, was able to claim that in all essential respects things turned out quite differently than Innocent wanted. Thus he first fought against Philip of Swabia, then recognized him, first recognized Otto of Brunswick, then fought against him; he sought to prevent nothing more than the unification of Sicily with the German Empire under one ruler, but then contributed to this unification himself. He threatened the crusade against Constantine with ecclesiastical punishment, then agreed to it and enthusiastically welcomed its results. Allied with France, he made King John of England as bad as he could - until John submitted to him and et; Innocent, now turned against France on John's side, wanted to carry out what he himself had once striven for.'[6]

But however papal absolutism culminated under him, and the Council, the Fourth Lateranum, which he convened in November, the best attended of the Middle Ages, reflected this pre-eminent position with all its pomp. Almost 5oo patriarchs, archbishops and bishops were assembled, over 8oo abbots and priors, as well as representatives of countless cities, crowds of princes and the envoys of Christian kings.

- With these words of the Lord at his last meal in the circle of his disciples (Lk, 2, Z., I y), the supposed follower, in the foreboding of his own death, opened a church meeting that stood in the greatest conceivable contrast to that modest Jerusalem supper - if it took place - a meeting in Rome, whose wardrobe luxury went so far as to make it impossible for the disciples to eat their own food.

some prelates changed their clothes depending on the subject of the negotiations, wearing the purple gown, the green of the dukes, the scarlet of the counts.

What was it about?

The Council, at which there was no vote, defined the doctrine of transubstantiation, which had been elevated to dogma and which takes place under the hands of the Catholic priest, only under his, invisibly for understandable reasons - although it was understandable, as was the case around this time in Rozay-en-Brie, that

-Wine was "visibly transformed into blood and blood into flesh at the sacrifice at the altar" (visibilirer sunt mutata: Peter von Dusburg).

The Fourth Lateranum imposed annual auricular confession on all Catholics, which also strengthened the power of pastors and served above all to root out heretical ideas. The translation of the Bible into the vernacular was limited and - with the approval of the larger and more reasonable part of the holy council (tHistoria Albigensis) - it spoke out in favor of Simon of Montfort and against Raimund VI, in favor of Frederick II, who was personally present, and against Otto IV, also in several harsh, momentous provisions against the Jews, who were banned from trade and public office and required to mark their clothes (c. 67 ff.}. The so-called reform chapters dealt with the condemnation of various "heretics" (c. z f.), excommunication {c. 47. 4s), interdict {c. y8), the relations to the state authority (c. V3 ff.) and again and again; quite typical, for one thing only; that which is necessary: for woolly goods (C.3 3 f., jq ff., 53 ff., 63 ff.).

Above all, however, the crusade constitution -Ad liberan- dam- (c. yi) concerned the preparation of a new monstrous war against Islam, whereby the mistakes of the previous one, the Fourth Crusade, were to be avoided and the pope wanted to make up for his embarrassing sidelining. The new crusade was particularly close to Innocent's heart, alongside the overall improvement of the Church, as he confessed in the appointment of the Council; one might even say that it was his main interest. In the last years of his pontificate, he had persistently pushed for it, and had already issued hard

He had promised great gifts of grace and wanted to make the crusade itself an instrument of his power, an expression of his hierarchical claim to leadership, a means of astonishing the world. This is why Frederick II's crusade vow was not even mentioned at the Council of Innocent. It was only allowed to be his crusade. Since Urban II (VI 6th chapter), writes Hans Eberhard Mayer in his much-publicized history of the crusades, i.e. for more than a hundred years, no pope has fought so hard to make the crusade an ecclesiastical-papal undertaking.

As early as i a i 3, when England and France, two Christian states, were embroiled in a major war and their rulers were independent, Innocent launched the new assassination project in April with the bull -Quia maior-. He appealed to the whole of Christendom, suspended the stabbing of the Albigenses because of the Fifth Crusade and called for peace in favor of a g r e a t e r war. Naturally, he also sent preachers of the cross, including his fellow student, the English theologian Robert de Coursori, whom he made cardinal and legale in France, when Courson distributed the cretice to women, children, the blind and the leprous before he himself perished on the holy crusade.

Innocent mobilized Christianity more extensively than usual. Ever wider circles were called upon, including women and the disabled, even the poor, as the pontiff believed, according to the Crusade Bulletin, that "people will not be absent if there is no lack of money". Strict sanctions were imposed on the wealthier, especially merchants, ship owners, etc. Private trade with unbelievers was banned for four years. And anyone who did business with them that was harmful to the war effort, supplied them with strategic goods or even entered their service as a pirate was threatened with ecclesiastical banishment, confiscation of property and slavery.

On the other hand, the initiating clergy should continue their previous
salary. However, anyone who voluntarily stayed at home had to employ someone else for three years, which had already been announced earlier but was now approved by the conciliar for the first time, albeit at a cost of

This led to a serious abuse, namely the replacement of a crusade vow with money along with the other ablusances. They also collected ringsiim, designated special collectors, special offering pots, and gained enormous experience to the benefit of the soon flourishing papal financial system.

After all, the clergy were also asked to pay, which was by no means always the case¡, as the earliest financiers of these campaigns were laymen, the royal crusaders. Now the constitution -Ad liberandam'- also taxed the clergy. jo ooo pounds of silver was to be raised by the Holy See for the bloody pilgrimage, the clergy were to sacrifice one twentieth of their wealth over three years, making this crusade, writes John Halleq, "the most violent effort of the whole West" , and ann - J-'

I 2.I SOlIte he began. The Pope himself wanted the embarkation of the -pilgrims in Brindisi and Messina next year, he himself sent the crusader fleets with his blessing against the "heathens". But on his way to win over the naval powers of Pisa and Genoa for such a noble goal, lnnozenz III Om II JuRl I2.i 6 died in Peru-

"THE sex FTM OTI c E HONOnlUS" AND T HE BEGINNING OF THE FIVE-FTE14 CREU2ZU GS

Just two days after Innocent's death, on July i8, the cardinals delegated to this task, Cardinal Hugo of Ostia, a cousin of Innocent. On July 8, at the suggestion of the cardinals delegated for this purpose, Cardinal Bishop Hugo of Ostia, a cousin of Innocent, and Cardinal Bishop Guido of Palestrina, the Roman aristocrat Cardinal Cencio Savelli was elected, who then called himself Honorius III {i z-—••°7) . The jurist and

curialc financial expert was already elderly, frail and had

His most important achievement was already accomplished as papal treasurer, the -Liber censuum Ecclesiae Romanae-, the famous interest book of the Church, including a systematic list of all churches, cities and individual persons liable to pay interest to the

Roman Curia; a not insignificant prerequisite for the papal

tum could then take up the fight with the empire as -a first financial power (Kantorowicz).

Honorius III, like so many popes, is considered a peaceful head of the church. "The gentle Honorius ... -, praises Gregorovius and reveals to us in the next sentence: -One single passion filled him, the execution ... of the crusade." -'The gentle and peace-loving churchman', applauds the Oxford papal historian John Kelly, a senior clergyman of the Anglican Church, more than a hundred years later, and also continues in the next sentence: -His chief concern was the crusade ..." Kelly praises Honorius as a promoter of the "crusade movement". -Honorius actively supported the missionary movement in the Baltic and led a crusade against the Moors in Spain. He reinforced the crusade that Innocent III had begun against the Albigenses. But that was not all: -With his approval, Frederick | i zzo) and Louis (i aaö) issued decrees that were of great importance for the development of the Inquisition and imposed severe punishments on heretics.

But gentle and peace-loving!

And like the Anglican Kelly, the Catholic Pope historian Seppelt also emphasizes the great crusade as the Pope's main concern; furthermore, his "zeal for the liberation of the holy cities", his "calls to crusade", the "ongoing papal crusading efforts", "his zealous crusading efforts", his "crusading zeal".

But it is not just about the crusade to "liberate the holy places", which Honorius, according to Seppelt, repeatedly echoed,
was -very close to his heart-. No, the peace-loving Holy Father also promoted other "crusade undertakings" in such a way t h a t some were "considerably impaired" by them. For example, he called -for battle and the subjugation of t h e pagan territories. "Other crusades aimed at the conquest and Christianization of Livonia and Estonia."i *7i -) Also
the - threatened Latin Empire of Constantinople-
he turned to "his protection and his help". And of course he also went to great lengths to protect the French king and his heir to the throne.

-to lead the fight against the heretics- -and yet, according to Seppelt, -in his love of peace he tended to be lenient and yielding ... -.*°

Even if Honorius did not have the criminal stature and tension of his predecessor, there was no change of course, he only continued his policy in a more moderate manner and without the constant insistence on the -plenitudo potestatis-.

This was especially true for a new war.

Honorius HI eagerly took over Innocent's planning, indeed he "practically lived" for this crusade. And however little he resembled the deceased, in this he wanted to be like him. His very first letter to the government assures the titular king of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, Latin emperor of

But Honorius mobilized all the princes, all the major maritime cities of Italy. He canvassed in Germany, Hungary and Burgundy, in England and France, where Philip II had just died, but left 5o ooo marks of silver for the crusade. Honorius sent whole clouds of recruiters to the north, including Cardinal Conrad of Porto, Count of Upach, who later declined to become Honorius' successor, including King John of Jerusalem. And it was not only the great, but also the rich that Horiorius called upon to contribute. Even the penniless layman was to pay a little, each house a penny a month for three years and the oh-so-poor clergy, already so fleeced in the last crusade, at least as much. Finally: -The question of finance was crucial to the success of the crusade" {Powell).

But the great cause was going less well than hoped. The crusade's zeal was not exactly lacking, but the organization was inadequate, neither the leadership was clearly defined nor the war aim. The money collections aroused criticism and mistrust, although or because unusual sums were received - a liquidation in the summer of izzo resulted in around half a million marks in silver -¡ here and there the offering boxes were overturned.

A unified action did not materialize. Even the departure
delayed, the groups fragmented.

The French in particular, who had been expected at first, took their time and were still preoccupied with the Albigensians, with whom the sanitized and peace-loving Honoriiis was hardly less cruel than his predecessor (an army of crusaders drummed up by the pope, on the advice of bishops, killed five houses of men, women and children at the storming of Marmande. Bands of fanatical priests incited the murderers, and in Cardinal Bertrand's sermons it was repeated like a rhyme: -that death and the sword must be the constant &g1eiter of the army of the cross; that all life must be destroyed.

den")

But things did not work out with the Germans either, even though two respected clerics and future cardinals preached the cross to them for years: Conrad from Mainz, a theologian from Paris, and Oliver, the cathedral scholaster of Cologne, himself a crusade participant and author of a crusade chronicle, the "Historia Damiatina" (p. aao ff.). Finally, however, most of the knights had been won over by additional monetary payments. And it is even said that regular participation contracts were concluded with individual greats.

After all, living and traveling as a crusading warrior {of the upper class, of course) or as a crusade propagandist was not so bad, as the example of Bishop Konrad of Hildesheim and Würzburg already taught us (p. j 3), as Jakob von Vitry, the famous crusader and historian, confirmed a short generation later.

Jacob, elected Bishop of Acre by Damiette {xzzy-z zzt} one year before the beginning of the Fifth Crusade, tells of his journey to the scene of the events, where he also met St. Francis before Damiette, for whose simple life he was so full of sympathy that he had embarked on a brand new, expensive ship that had never set sail. He was an "outstanding witness to the religious awakening within the Church at the time".

-in East and West" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche), reserved for himself and his family "a quarter of the upper fort" in order to dine there in storm-free times, to read and to enjoy the "free, eye-

apparently to enjoy the vastness and the sea air. - I have rented a room to sleep in at night with my companions, another to put my clothes in and store the food I need for the week: I have rented a white room where my servants sleep and prepare my meals; another place for my horses, which I carry with me. Finally, I have had my bread, rusks, meat and other things stacked in the hold of the ship, enough to last me for three months." And while the European high nobility in particular often sailed to the Holy Land in unparalleled luxury, such as the filthy rich Count Odo of Nevers, who died there "in the smell of holiness", most people's voyages took place in miserable circumstances.

A)s one of the first, Duke Leopold VI of Austria, the GÍorreiche, from SpÍit at sea, a magnate esteemed in Rome for his church politics, "thoroughly Catholic" (vir per omnia catholicus: Marbacher AnnaÍen}, fighter against the Albigenseç of the Moors in Spain as well as the "heretics and infidels in his own country¡ a Christian prince, of whom Thomasin von Zerklaere, author and cleric at the residence of the Patriarch of Aquileia, writes:

> -Lombardy would be like Eden if it
> had the Lord of Austria, who boils
> all heretics.

In contrast, the usual hanging, blinding and quartering were still relatively "mild". However, the duke was also a patron of Reinmar von Hagenau, Walther von der Vogelweide and Neil Hart von Reuental, just as the Nibełungenlied was recorded in close connection with his court.

King Andrew II of Hungary {iz s-**3 f) also made the journey on his own and arrived in Palestine with some southern German feudal lords. But Honorius hoped for a great deal from him. From a prince who had proven his profligate courtly behavior, favoritism, scine concessions to the church and almost annual wars by lavishly squandering the crown estates and mercilessly fleecing his subjects.

The father of St. Elisabeth of Thuringia, whose honorable mother Queen Gertrude {of Andechs Merania), the sister of Bamberg Bishop Ekbert {p. y6 f.), was murdered by Christians in the Pilis forest for intemperate favoritism towards relatives during a court hunt by un-Garic greats.

Honorius soon ordered processions of supplication for the triumph of the Hungarians, whose country was also teeming with prelates addicted to priests, decked out in gold and jewels, where many priests were plundering, drinking, trading and whoring, which was not much different elsewhere. The Pope himself made a barefoot pilgrimage through Rome with the clergy and the people. In vain. After just a few months of unsuccessful forays against the Saracens, who refused to fight, and after all sorts of internal turmoil, the Hungarian king and a few other lords abandoned the crusade in January i zi 8, accompanied by the patriarch's curse, not so much because he had promised it to his dying father as because he believed he could win the imperial crown of Byzantium in the process.

HOW TO GET A "EU LTANS 1'fI CHT" THANKS TO A S - UNLABELLY

In the spring of IZI8, under the Cologne cathedral scholaster Oliver - who did not have the military leadership, but as a popular crusader had the decisive influence - the main force of the Occident arrived in Acre; several hundred ships with Rhinelanders, Westphalians, Tiles, who had already embarked a year ago, fought against the Moors in Portugal and now had to advance against the Islamic power base in Egypt in order to be able to take Jerusa- lem, Palestine, from there, a plan already made by Innocent. However, the mass of warriors first had to be persuaded to change their minds. But the cathedral scholaster Oliver put his foot down. And finally - hadn't Moses in

lived in Egypt? And the Gortesmuters on the run with the Jesuskind ...?

On the Nile, the Shiite Fatimids, who had ruled since *969,* had been deprived of their hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean by the First Crusade and the establishment of the Crusader states, and two generations later were replaced by the Kurd Saladin (VI y5o ff!) of the Ayyubid dynasty (i 171-xzyo) and thus finally regained significant territory for Sunni Islam. Now this center of power of the infidels was to be destroyed and the path to the Holy Land opened.

The pious operations were somewhat laborious at first, but successful.

At the end of May, the crusaders went against the heavily guarded Da- miette in the eastern Nile Delta vol the second most important port city in Egypt, already repeatedly attacked by the -pilgrims-, i i yy, *i* r6q; and i -49. ' Sixth Crusade, even a veritable saint was to fight there, King Louis IX of France {p.3 oq ff.). Damiette was protected by a triple ring of walls, by a8 multi-storied towers and zz fortified gates. iai8 Now the Christians attacked from the Nilufet; opposite the city, for almost a quarter of a year a chain tower standing in the river with ships, ßrandem, throwing machines, the eight largest of which hurled stones day and night as far as Damiette, each of which weighed more than three hundred Egyptian pounds. The chain tower, however, called the Key of Egypt by a contemporary source, was connected to a second such tower on the other bank by a chain in such a way that it could be used to block the river and thus control the entire mouth of the Nile.

However, it took a long time for the crusaders to take the tower, which was the closest to them, very strongly fortified and defended by a select team, only after Olivet, the bishop of Paderborn and cardinal of S. Sabina, had constructed a special siege machine. This made it possible to construct a drawbridge on the tower battlements, which could be lowered at will by means of flak trains, and to overcome the obstacle of

from above, cut the barrier chain, destroyed a pontoon bridge to the city and captured the garrison, about three hundred Muslims - although some of our own were, according to a contemporary Christian chronicle, "united with the angels". It is said that the conquest so shocked Sultan al-Adil, Saladin's brother and ruler of all the Ayyubid states, who had expected an advance on Jerusalem in Damascus, that he died.

In the fall, supplies arrived, a large contingent of English, French, Italian and Spanish troops. Of course, warriors who had done their duty and fulfilled their vows always left. Even the clergy's promise to extend plenary indulgences to their loved ones at home if they stayed did not keep them, and they did well to do so. The dysentery swept away a considerable part of the army - "almost painlessly", as one of the likes of James of Vitry, not coincidentally a cardinal and {elected) Jerusa- far patriarch, knows, even celebrating the miserable death of the plague as an -invitation to a heavenly meal. - Never in history," comments Hans Eberhard Mayer, "has there been a lack of interested circles that glorified death in war in one way or another." And it has probably never been glorified more shamelessly than by Christian priests {see the chapter -The Catholic Clergy in the First World War in my Papal History of the Twentieth Century!)

In the meantime, Honorius, the mild, peace-loving man, h a d pushed, driven and tried *many things* t o increase the supply, the fighting fury, had already collected around ioo ooo **Mark** Sil1'er for the holy cause at the end of i zi 8. But obviously everything was getting out of hand, his ambition was greater than his criminal skills and, as Albert Hauck notes, he was incapable of solving the simplest tasks of a government: raising an army and raising a tax. He m i s t o o k a bunch of people for an army, pathetic words for a campaign plan, sums of money scattered all over the world for a war treasure and a scheming cardinal for a general. e-' With the last large troop unit, two lega

Honorius to enforce the ecclesiastical supremacy of the whole. According to the papal position since Innocent III, the crusade was to be a war led by Rome alone, even if King John of Brienne was left in military command for the time being.

Cardinal Robert de Courson, already prominent against the Albigenses, finally resigned here; he died at the beginning of February next year. Thus Cardinal Pelagius Galvani of Albano,
an unconvincing Portuguese stubbornness, arrogant and unfa-
He was able to get his hands on the reins, even though the Pope had given him extensive powers. But if he had already been commissioned by Innocent to enter into union negotiations with the Eastern Church, but was not very successful due to his intransigence, he failed all the more in Egypt; after all, the stubborn and narrow-minded prelate only had one kind of victory in mind: the unconditional capitulation of Islam (Pemoud).

However, this completely changed the Christian goal of the war. Initially, the aim was to win Jerusalem, the "holy cities". Now it was about fighting a religion, defeating the -unbelievers-, who dominated a much larger area at the time.

However, the Pope's envoy was hardly suited to this task. The difficulties in the Christian situation also increasedq poorer nutrition, worse bettingq increasing illnesses. There were divisions, selfishly encouraged by Pelagius himself. At the same time, differences arose on the opposing side, where Sa- ladin's brother al-Adi1 and his eldest son Malik al-Kamil had taken possession of Egypt.

The legate rejected a long-term offer of a truce from Sultan al-Kamil, who had been the nominal head of the Ayyubid state since the summer of iai8, combined with the likewise offered return of almost the entire former kingdom of Jerusalem in exchange for the evacuation of Egypt by the Crusaders. Instead, on zp. August i a rq, against the advice of his militarily experienced leaders, and promptly received a severe rebuff.

The Cardinal was able to convince him by, among other things, promising to restore Jerusalem's fortresses, which had already been razed months ago as a precautionary measure, at his own expense. But even this even more generous offer, which the King of Jerusalem and other leading participants in the campaign advised him to accept, was rejected anew by the Cardinal.

But then he had a bit of luck. The supply situation and the misery of the population of Damiette, which had been trapped since February i zxq, had become so catastrophic that the starving, almost extinct city - of its estimated 6oooo people, only io ooo were still alive, and most of them were ill - was almost effortlessly liberated at night on y. November izzp at night almost effortlessly, after the -Gesta Treverorum- could nevertheless be taken "by divine power", whereupon the children of the citizens were stolen in order to make them Christians by force, and the rest of the inhabitants were expelled or enslaved. Soon after, a second port, Tanis, fell {today Port Said). Honorius praised his tool Cardinal Pelagius as a second Joshua, reminiscent of that notorious %uber- strategist of the Old Testament, whose orgies ofroming can hardly be surpassed { i83 f.!).'-.

But the legate's triumph did not last long.

He quarrelled with John of Brienne over the possession of Damiette, from whom he withdrew the town in favor of the church, whereupon the king, tired of the constant quarreling, left the army in the spring of i zzo. The quarrels and jealousies continued. Appearances of dissolution spread. The Count of Arundel threatened the Cardinal with violence, the crusaders threatened his life, Italians and Frenchmen fought each other in a veritable battle. The legate hurled an ecclesiastical ban and spread writings prophesying the imminent victory of the pilgrims over the Egyptians. However, the expected help from the emperor was not forthcoming, especially as he himself continued to fail to appear, even though he sent five hundred knights on his cosse in March i zzi with the Bavarian Duke Ludwig and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Hermann von Salza, who, contrary to his orders, wanted to follow the legate on his march to Cairo and the conquest of Egypt.

However, Johann von Brienne, under strong pressure from the

Pß Stes on y. July I returned to Damiette, just as resolutely as many other warriors familiar with the country Pelagius abet; who always relied on attack and now also had the Bavarians on his side, rejected a third peace offer from al-Kamil, broke

In the middle of the month with the Kreuzheef and settled alR >4- July in a fork of the Nile, where they thought they were particularly safe, in front of the Sultanlaget, from which today's Mansura (the Victorious) emerged.

Just ten days later, al-Kamil's two brothers, al-Muazzam, who ruled Syria and Palestine, and al-Ashraf, who ruled Upper Mesopotamia, were on the scene. They quickly encircled the western provinces, cut off all supplies of food and reinforcements, breached the river dykes and the Nile dams, flooded the land and roads and forced the desperate Christians, who were soon covered in mud, to surrender. The Sultan remained mafi-full and did not destroy them. He fed them for two weeks, granted them free withdrawal in exchange for an eight-year truce and the evacuation of Egypt. Even the strictly church-minded Oli- vet, who later became a cardinal, was moved by the greatness of Siiltan and in two long letters full of biblical pearls, he earnestly thanked him and the Egyptians for their conversion.

No more talk of Jerusalem. The Muslim East rejoiced, the West echoed with cries of woe and rage, was shaken, its perhaps strongest effort in the crusade movement failed miserably, indeed, despite the tolerable outcome, which was not due to the crusaders, given the enormous expenditure of men and material, a fiasco. Although the end of the "armed rampages", these power-hungry and insane incursions into the Orient, was not yet in sight, the beginning of the end had been reached. And with a crusade that, more than any other, was to be an ecclesiastical crusade, a papal crusade, and was also an ecclesiastical crusade, a papal crusade.

There is therefore no doubt that the main blame for the considerable

The Church itself suffered a loss of prestige across many borders, a fact that did not go unnoticed by contemporaries. Voices from lower Italy and southern France castigate it as the cause of the massacre of Christians, the

Pelagius, the most powerful representative of the Curia, was the most frequently reproached. But behind him stood the pope, and none other than he had commissioned an unsuitable person. And none other than he drummed up a new war in the year of the failed war, to which he had all the Western chief shepherds call on their followers.

But now Ho- norius, threatening with the Baan, put the sole blame for the fiasco that had just ended *on* the emperor.

Pxrsz Ho N o R I US D RiiNG THE KzIS ER to the KR IEG

Frederick II, at the age of twenty-one, had taken the cross in Aachen and had also fairly advertised the crusade, without actually embarking on it. On the contrary, he postponed it from time to time, talking it up again and again. He persuaded Honorius, dispelled doubts, was grateful, perhaps, and always presented himself once again as a devoted servant of the papacy; at times he was, helping him from time to time, for example by enabling Honorius to return to the Curia in October i zzo after more than a year of exile.

Friedrich's central interest, however, was unmistakably the unification of the

This fundamental concept, however, threatened Upper and Central Italy, and therefore also the Pope. Honorius therefore sought to channel the king's strong military forces into the crusade, his main and favorite project anyway. However, whenever Honorius reminded him of this, Frederick knew how to appease him. These divergences pervaded the entire pontificate of Gregory IX and even preoccupied his successor Innocent III.

Frederick II had come to power as -Pfaffenkaiser-, as a candidate of the Church, and had long sought at least a reasonable relationship with the popes. However, as he had resumed the ambitious great power policy of his father Henry Vl,

Parsz Hoxonius nex'tGT DER KzisEn zur Km ~~ee*>7 since he~~ did not want to subordinate himself, especially not to Rome's even more ambitious great power policy, it had to come to a fight,
even though both sides repeatedly conceded, because each side wanted the
Frederick needed the pope, for example, to become emperor, Honorius Frederick's troops for the crusade, which Rome insisted on incessantly.[2] -

When the king had already taken the cross for almost four years without moving out, Honorius ordered him to do so by *4-J<>' rziq at the latest, otherwise he would be excommunicated. But then he postponed the deadline until September, and then, although already quite indignant, until March i zzo. March i zzo. And although he was still in Germany and did not depart, Honorius crowned him in the same year - mainly to ensure his troops and his participation in the crusade - on
zz. November i Mao, in St. Peter to the Emperor.

Frederick vowed to fight against the enemies of the Church, which particularly affected Italian cities, their statutes and property claims. He abolished many things that contradicted canon law with the stroke of a pen. He confirmed the clergy's freedom from secular taxes and guaranteed them the right to their own jurisdiction. -The emperor threatened heretics, on the other hand, who were still widespread, especially in Lombardy, with banishment and confiscation of property, which was to affect even the "heretics' children", "since it is far more difficult to offend the eternal majesty than the earthly one". Ergo, all heretics were also deterred by severe threats of punishment. According to Henry Charles Lea, it was precisely through these barbaric heretical decrees that Frederick attained the coronation and remained faithful to the task he had thus assumed. In other respects, too, he was quick to meet the curial needs. He performed the marshal service for the Pope. He joined the brotherhood of the canons of St. Peter's and, like many of the **men** around him, took the cross again, this time from the hand of Cardinal Hugo of Ostia, the future Pope Gregory IX, who preached the crusade in the following year (i zz i) in Mirtel and Upper Italy.

It was the same year; in which the Emperor, on February i i, his

issued a famous appeal: - Up, ye knights; ye faithful of the kingdom, quickly *take up* the arms of Christian chivalry ..."; in which he - "n o t without the bitterest bitterness" remembered the holy city of Jerusalem, -deep in his heart affected by pain and blushing and
-day and night for quick help ...

However, he did not keep his promise to join the army until August IaZI. Instead, he went south, where he took rigorous measures, primarily through the "Assises of Capua" {December i zzo) - an uncompromising attack on the country's feu- dal circles, a restriction of their resources and an expansion of his own. The kingdom was to become his home, a source of not least enormous money. Wherever it seemed desirable, he seized donations and grants, estates and rights, and lent them back to vassals or not, as he pleased. He occupied the barons' castles, razed others and built new ones. In doing so, he first disempowered the greats with the help of the lesser ones and then went after the lesser ones as well - to put it seriously: a single-minded -building activity- (Seppelt), -the reorganization of the administrative structureii- (Cuozzo). In fact: a bitter petty war that lasted for years.

Frederick also subdued the insubordinate nobility in Sicily and, in protracted battles, cleared u p the Saracens in particular, who pursued their brigandage from fortified mountain nests. The emir Ibn-Abbad, who begged for mercy during the battle for the Saracen fortress]ato xzzz and threw himself at Frederick's feet, was kicked, slit open his side with the spur and hanged him and his sons a few days later.

After a total of five campaigns extending over a quarter of a century (rata-iay6), he deported around i 5 ooo to zo ooo able-bodied Muslims and their families to Lucera, in the Apulian border region with the Papal States, the Capitanata, which he preferred for hunting, where he built a magnificent residence in Foggia and died in nearby Castel Fiorentino. The resettled Saracens had the dependent status of chamber servants {servi curiae), but enjoyed extensive self-determination.

They were also granted complete religious freedom and were of course immune to papal bans. Rome protested vehemently, but in vain.

From this community of "unbelievers", for whom he even acquired works of art from the Orient, the emperor chose his {He had a bodyguard (recruited from boyhood), an important army division that was also absolutely devoted to him, as well as a considerable number of his servants and concubines. However, he fleeced the nobility and cities as well as his Lticera Muslims, whose tax revenue amounted to one-sixth of the province's total taxes. Indeed, at the papal request, he finally allowed the Dominicans to carry out missions among these Muslims, thus emphasizing his services to the church - and in the summer of i3oo, Frederick's former military colony suffered another bad fate, the "infidel" inhabitants were enslaved and the Sradt rechristianized.*'

In the meantime, the monarch had repeatedly postponed the fulfillment of his crusade vow. However, the extent to which the Curia insisted on its fulfillment, how much it was interested in the ruler's personal presence in the holy war, is also evident from the fact that after Constance's death in the summer of izzz in Ca- tania, the Pope and cardinals urged Frederick to remarry, not coincidentally to the heiress daughter of the King of Jerusalem, Isabella H. of Brienne, who was only twelve years old. of Brienne (Frederick's marriage to Constance, who was a good ten years older, also took place under papal pressure;
p. zo3). It was believed that the crown of Jerusalem would make it easier to lure the Hohenstaufen to the Holy Land, with the mediating monsignori now even promising to give the dowry for the poor princess, the heiress of a kingdom that had yet to be conquered

At least this calculation worked out to some extent. Friedrich hei the penniless girl was married on q. November ---5 n Brindisi, two and a half years later Isabella died in childbirth. But the emperor
deprived his father-in-law of his crown rights on his wedding day (whereupon Honorius made the dethroned man a kind of administrator of the Papal States, -Protector Patrimonii"), and

From then on, Frederick fl. held the title of King of Jerusalem, which the Hohenstaufen dynasty retained until the end of Conrad (i z68}.

As far as the crusade was concerned, the prince repeatedly obtained extensions of deadlines and new postponements, as the pope was increasingly reluctant to do so. There were internal political difficulties, church policy differences, armaments problems, health problems ... And last but not least, there were also common interests and mutual dependence, so that, despite old accusations and sharp reactions, a complete break was avoided time and again.

A date set for August i car, at the time of the catastrophe of Mansura under the legate Pelagius, passed unfulfilled, and many, even the otherwise so imperially-minded troubadours, blamed the tardy ruler, who then also hastened to assure Honorius that the "sad news" pierced his heart -with the weight of pain ... O this disgrace! the sons of the church fiehen before the dogs of the synagogue, and the victory of Mohammed rises above the war of the Lord! But the subsequent meetings of both Christian leaders also failed - in April in Veroli in the Abruzzi, in the South *Fy:ence Yes* Church *State,* and *in* March *in* Ferentino {fampa nia), where the Grand Masters of the three orders of knights had also been summoned, as well as the Patriarch and the King of Jerusalem, the latter so impecunious that the Emperor paid for his journey. For the rest, Frederick performed his crusade oath for another May; and the pope once again accepted a delay in Kant, this time until zą. June r zz 5, but again no imperial crusade took place. Nevertheless, in the following month, Frederick was forced to give his sworn consent in the Treaty of San Germano, to go to war in August i••7 , wİthout further ado he would fall into excommunication plus a penalty of zoo ooo ounces of gold - it was the year Honorius Ill. died.

After Cardinal Konrad von Porro, a sprofi from the dynasty of the Counts of Urach, rejected the papal election.

Since he did not want to be elected pope by his own vote by three electors, including himself, Cardinal Hugo {Hugo- lino) of Ostia, Count of Segni, accepted the second election under the same circumstances without hesitation. He was a nephew of Innocent III, who had made him cardinal and dean of the College of Cardinals in accordance with curial nepotism {cf. p. y i f., 38s ff.}.

GnßGOR IX. (z zz 7*4 –) BEGINNING AND THE NEXT CROSSOVER

Although the new pope was already old, he was full of vigor, tenacity, energy and perhaps also cunning, resembling the Doge Dandolo of Venice, but even more so Irinocent IH, his relative {third degree), who for some was comparable to Gregory the Great. -seemed to have risen again from the grave" (Wetzerf9lfelte).

The young count had studied theology and law in Paris, had served as papal legate under his uncle Innocent, under Honorius III, between
shsR I z7 and izai gained experience in the interests of the crusade in southern Italy, Tuscany, Lombardy and Germany and proved to be a skillful politician. He was able to
he also had to study the character traits, behavior and intentions of the man whose patron he had been as a cardinal, but whose greatest opponent he became and whose destruction he systematically pursued like no other, without, of course, achieving it completely because he died over it.

Gregory IX was said to have unbridled passion as well as mystical piety; but mystical piety may be feigned or not, it is always one of the most fatal connections in a cleric's head. If the thought of the crusade had occupied the predecessor throughout his pontificate and into his last days, Gregory IX, who, like a secular prince, still demanded that the bishops be soldiers, began to rule with the idea of the crusade in mind, as it were. Finally

preparations for the War of the Orient were in full swing at the time of his change of office. Gregory only had to take them up and continue them, which he d i d , although he was less concerned with the Holy Land King than with the destruction of the Hohenstaufen territorial power in Italy, ultimately with the destruction of Frederick

II at all. Already in his election announcement, which he sent to the monarch on the third day after his consecration, he spurred him on to a crusade and made a hidden threat in the event of a refusal. For Gregory must have welcomed the distraction to the East of the soon increasingly unpopular, ever more repressive ruler. The ruler had prepared his move to the East well politically through his marriage to Isabella, the daughter of the King of Jerusalem (i zz5), the heiress of the Crusader state. Since John of Brianne only ruled there as guardian, Frederick now had a dynastic claim, a title of possession, he was the actual king of the Holy Land, which at least increased the legitimacy of his war leadership. He had also entered into negotiations with Sultan al-Kamil, who was in increasing difficulties with his brothers.

especially in a power struggle with al-Muazzam.

Frederick's army, larger German, smaller English, French and Spanish contingents, was probably more numerous than expected, but left much to be desired in terms of strength, including the participation of princes. Apart from the Thuringian Landgrave, the Duke of Brabant and a number of prelates, there was only a lot of minor nobility and a surprising number of so-called commoners. But when everything gathered in Briiidisi in July/August taz2, a plague-like epidemic broke out under the Apulian summer heat, according to an old source, -which seemed to melt the ore-, as a result of poor accommodation and care. Although some of the "pilgrims" set sail with Hermann von Salza at the beginning of September, many stayed behind, died or returned home. The Landgrave of Thuringia, Louis IV the Holy, a stalwart warrior and close confidant of Cairo, was carried off after a few days on September I I in Otranto, and the Bishop of Augsburg also died - although it was also rumored that he died of a "poisonous drink" (Annales Marbacenses). Frederick himself fell seriously ill and went to

urged by his entourage, which included Patriarch Gerald of Jerusalem, to the spas of Pozzuoli near Naples.

Although the Treaty of San Germano made provision for Frederick's death, it did not - in contrast to comparable treaties with other feudal lords - provide for his illness. Pope Gregory, who was immediately informed by Frederick of the interruption, took the opportunity to do away with the ailing Kaiseq barely a fortnight later, on aq. September in Anagni, in full regalia from the cathedral pulpit, while his priests - well directed - extinguished their flaming candles on the floor on both sides of the high altar.

Of course, Gregory was formally in the right. However, in view of the circumstances, he could have dispensed the emperor from the punishment and should have dispensed him justly as a victim of force majeure. But Gregory, who was aware of Frederick's years of dithering, delaying and stalling, did not accept any of his justifications (cf. MGH Const. z, no. i i6), saw the whole thing as a new evasion, a feint, at least pretended to, freely declared the illness to be a lie and sent corresponding letters all over the world with the excommunication, epistles full of suspicions, accusations and condemnations. He blamed the ruler for the fiasco of Damiette, for the death of countless crusaders from the plague in Brinisi, where, despite all promises, the Christian army had lingered so long in the heat, the polluted air of the murderous region, - that not only a large part of the people, but even a not inconsiderable number of nobles and leaders died from the plague, the brightness of thirst and many other primeval inconveniences". Quite a few had fled and perished en route on roads, mountains, in forests and caves; Still others set sail in confidence on the Kaiur, but left without thinking of his promises, breaking the bonds by which he was bound and trampling underfoot the fear of God, despising the reverence of Jesus Christ and disregarding the Church's penal authority, abandoning the Christian army, abandoning the Holy Land to the infidels and betraying the devotion of the Christian people.

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"He did not respect his own and all Christianity's weakness, and, tempted and seduced, he withdrew to the usual indulgences of his kingdom, anxious to cover up the weakness of his heart with frivolous excuses, as they say ..."

The Holy Father is unhappy about the lack of a great war and victory, about the deceived hopes of the faithful, the pretexts of the emperor. -It pains Us that this son, so carefully brought up by the Church and so highly exalted, has now been so miserably defeated without war and thrown to the ground without enemies and sunk in shame and disgrace.

The Holy Father protests because the emperor is not going to war. Another time he will protest because he is going to war. John Hall's reasoning, however, "was so lacking in justice, it struck the facts so openly in the face, the measure itself was put into effect with such haste ... that one cannot b e mistaken: what the pope put forward was a pretext, and the alleged fault of the emperor was not the cause, only the occasion, the welcome reason for a step whose real motives lay elsewhere.

They lay in the rivalry between two powers. The two leaders of the Christian army wanted more power - as primitive as this is - and both stood in each other's way. Frederick had become too strong for the Pope, so he sought to regain further imperial power in Italy and to prevent his own separation by a Hohenstaufen empire in both the south and the north at all costs. And this was precisely what Frederick desired. But while he was still proceeding diploinatically, trying to negotiate, repeatedly offering his hand, Gregory was already operating with naked hostility, trying to unleash the revolution. He did not receive Frederick's envoys or only allowed them to arrive late; he thwarted any mediation. Even the Archbishop of Magdeburg, who was the last to speak, was unsuccessful. On the other hand, Gregory repeatedly announced Frederick's excoinmunication, tightening it even further on z3. March izz8

(Maundy Thursday) by imposing an interdictum ab ingressu ecclesiae on all places where the emperor was present, forbidding them to hold church services and to attend. He also threatened to release his Sicilian-Apulian subjects from the oath of allegiance and continued to make old and new accusations, however unfounded they were. And when an uprising began in Abruzzo, in the north of the Sicilian regnum, on the border with the Papal States, the rebels found support from the papal country. The first major conflict between the emperor and the pope was sparked and was accompanied by extensive journalistic propaganda on both sides.

MA PST G REGO R OVER THE REI G H, WHILE THE CAI SER IS ON A CROSSROADS

In the meantime, Frederick had prepared his crusade, which the pope expressly forbade and wanted to prevent, especially through a pact with the Lombards, but also through an attempted coup in Germany with the help of a Guelph counter-king, in short, "in every way" (Seppelt). Xurios enough. For he had previously called for the crusade just as strictly as he now forbade it. - The same pope made Frederick a criminal for not undertaking the crusade and for undertaking it" (Gregorovius).

Nevertheless, to Gregory's great surprise, for the venture was unprecedented, the banished emperor set sail from Brindisi on June 8 with forty ships. June from Brindisi with forty ships, admittedly, as his church called after him, not as a crusader but as a "pirate" - the difference may be slight {see Nietzsche's definition of crusade as "higher piracy", although the attribute was still generous).

Frederick first secured Cyprus, the most important crusader base, by subduing its lord with a firm hand and placing his own garrisons in the castles; he then landed at the beginning of

September; surrounded by the Christians, in Acre. However, although he appeared with a very large contingent - there is talk of thousands of knights and several "pilgrim" contingents - and although only Sicilfanez, PisancC Genoese and the Teutonic Knights stood by him on the spot, while the French orders, the Templars and the Knights of St. John, who were soon fighting each other, as well as the Jerusalem Patriarch Gerald of Valence, who had been appointed legate by the pope, and the entire
Although the clergy were increasingly reluctant to join in, his campaign was crowned with success, a political triumph.

Frederick negotiated immediately and made peace with Sultan al-Kamil, who was apparently impressed by the emperor, who spoke Arabic fluently and was familiar with Arabic culture and science, but did not want war himself and, as the Muslim side reports, was probably also told that he could take back from the eternally quarrelling Christians what he had given them when the opportunity arose. The Muslims seemed to be less touched by the Hohenstaufen; bald-headed, he was short-sighted, indeed, according to one; "on the slave market he would not have been worth zo dirhams".

The Pope's party abel, who was not afraid to ask the Sultan during the negotiations not to hand Jerusalem over to the Emperor, then accused him of having negotiated with the Sultan when he possessed it. For Frederick won through the treaty with al-Kamil of i8. February i aaq at Jaffa without a fight, without any stroke of the sword, uur with a stroke of the pen Jerusalem, with the exception of the Temple Square with the Islani holy sites of the rocky endo mes and the Aq#a Mosque, with free gelcit for Mohammedans; he won Bethlehem and perhaps Nazareth together with its corridor
{between Jaffa and Jerusalemein) to the sea for ten and a half years, as did much of the land to the north. The area around Jerusalem, on the other hand, with its once enormous possession of the Holy Sepulchre, remained Muslim.

Nevertheless, the fanatics saw their leader's agreements as treachery and a huge misfortune. "There was great lamentation, wailing and weeping among the Mohammedans," reports the Arab Makrizi. -The Imam and the Muazzin ofJ eruzalem

came to the tent of el-Kamil, where they lined up in front of the exit and called for prayers out of time ... and not only severe reproach arose against Malik el-Kamil because of this, but also deep resentment in all the areas inhabited by Mohammedans.
areas.q38

The Pope, however, qualified the peace treaty as a disgrace and betrayal of the Christian cause and, moreover, worthless, since it had not been concluded with the legitimate lord of Jerusalem, the Sultan of Damascus. The patriarch of Jerusalem, agintori- sther almost, more pontifical than the pope, naturally refused to participate in the forthcoming enthronement. And the Templars, founded to protect the pilgrims, had - probably
-At the instigation of the pope" {Catholic and papal historian Kühner) - the hour at which Frederick would be at the Jordan, at Jesus' filling station, was mentioned as a good opportunity to kill him; however, he did not receive a Saracen's dagger, but the treacherous Templar letter with a short sultan's commentary.

On the 18th of March, on a Sunday in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the ruler took the crown of the kingdom from the altar with his own hands in front of numerous spectators, but without any ecclesiastical fuss, and crowned himself. A highly provocative act, which was followed by a no less bold manifesto to the peoples of the world on the day of his coronation. In it, the ruler, in the tradition of Davidic kingship, played with biblical claims and with the pathos typical of the chancery style of the late Hohenstaufen period, placed himself almost close to God, commanding the orthodox,
-to proclaim - far and wide on the face of the earth - "that he who is blessed for all time has visited us and given redemption to his people ...".

The next day, the patriarch occupied the "holy cities" with
the interdict and banned pilgrims from entering. But Frederick ö. had achieved what the West had been unable to accomplish with all its bloody offensives for decades, since the Third Crusade. The Catholic theologian and papal historian Seppelt also concedes that, on the one hand, the pope greatly endangered the crusade by "putting difficulties upon difficulties in the way of the emperor".

The emperor's success in the Christian cause was "primarily due to his superior negotiating skills and his high personal standing with the Muslims. But Frederick's reputation had also grown in his own ranks and respect for him had increased.

The pope, who had previously scolded the Hohenstaufen for being a partisan of the Saracens, a servant of Mohammed and an enemy of the Church of Christ, was all the more enraged. Gregory condemned the whole affair and drove against the emperor from Holy Rome to the Holy Land, where the patriarch, in accordance with his instructions, took up the papal agitation with such success that the crowd no longer wanted to see Frederick before his embarkation in Acre on May i azq. May i azq, t h e c r o w d no longer cheered him as they had on his arrival, but insulted him. Indeed, the butchers are said to have thrown stinking entrails at him, the most powerful man in the western world, as he rode to port.

The emperor is in a hurry.

Shortly after his departure for the Orient, unrest had broken out on the border of the Papal States, bloody local uprisings, which the Pope fueled by releasing Frederick's subjects in the southern Italian empire from their duty of obedience, which led to the invasion of the imperial deputy Reinald of Urslin, Duke of Spoleto, into the -recuperated- territories of St. Peter and the excommunication of the Duke by the Pope. This led to the invasion of the -recuperated- territories of St. Peter (with terrible riots by the Saracen associations) and the excommunication of the duke by the pope.

Gregory prepared the war, a war that was particularly immoral from a Catholic moral point of view, which cost a lot of money and for which he was still seeking support from the world when his troops had already begun to run away from Frederick, in three ways. Firstly through a pact with the Lombard League, which of course let him down shamefully; then by stirring up the German princes and seeking the election of a counter-king, the Guelph Otto of Lüneburg, a nephew of Otto lV, which the legate, Cardinal Otto Candidus of St. Nicholas, tried to obtain, a l b e i t in vain; finally, through an -inilitia Sancti Petri- (VI zqy ff.), a papal force of his own, which he had

already recruited before Frederick's departure. To

He sought to finance the "key soldiers" (clave signati) - called Perri after their badge, the key - through church tributes, taxation from Italy to England and Scandiaavia.

He called on the whole of Ewopa to send soldiers and money - both for a war against a Catholic emperor who was on a crusade and from whom et, the Holy Father meanwhile wanted to wrest his kingdom; something new in the history of salvation. For the land of a crusader had to be inviolable according to international and church law. But now three papal armies

The first of these were John of Brienne, the ex-king of J- -alem and imperial father-in-law; Cardinal John Golorina and the Pope's chaplain, Pandulf of Anagni. The last was al-

les under the command of Cardinal Pelagius, who had so self-consciously ordered the crusade of Damiette to ruin (p. Z*3) , and now apparently even had prisoners mutilated and killed, including the church treasures of San Germano and Monte Cas- sino, when the Pope ran out of money for his war.

Meanwhile, Gregory's "key soldiers" conquered considerable parts of the lower Italian kingdom. They "set fire to villages and towns", Count Thomas of Acerra reported to the emperor in the spring of IZßq, "robbed goods and livestock, captured people and subjected them to various tortures, extorted the highest ransoms, spared no age or sex, left nothing in peace except the church and cemetery, devastated villages and castles and took no account of the fact that you were in the service of Jesus Christ". But the Holy Father, as the Count of Acerra also writes to the ruler, -had decided to conquer you with the secular sword because he was unable to throw you down with the spiritual one.

In fact, Gregot wielded both swords; quite beautifully Christian, fatherly, papal. In August izzq he repeated Frederick's banishment and in September he ordered French bishops to assist him with troops without delay. He claimed other rights, ordered the annexation of conquered territories and had himself acclaimed as the new father of the country.

Rumor of the emperor's death. Anarchy, apostasy and rebellion reigned as far as Sicily, with the Franciscans acting as the most zealous instruments of papal politics, paving the way for the overthrow. Frederick expelled them all after he had barely returned from the Orient, had regained the kingdom, even with Saracens under the banner of Christ, in two months - barbarically harsh towards apostates, he is even said to have hanged a captured brother of the pope - and had beaten the popes back to the ecclesiastical state, whose borders he did not cross.

GRE GO RS DO P **PELTE** S **PIE** L I M **FIGHT** T O T H E L OM BARD EI

As in the early days, the emperor tried year in, year out to establish better contacts with the pope, who, however, remained unapproachable, only entering into negotiations when, more than once, he was in trouble, but even then only reluctantly and more seemingly, while Frederick really sought peace with the Church and his reinstatement, even an alliance with the pope.

From Jerusalem, the emperor excused Gregory's hostile actions. And as soon as he landed in Apulia, he reconciliation with him. He repeatedly sent couriers to his court and, in addition to ever new envoys, also engaged the Teutonic Master Hermann von Salza {- 7 -i s) "- The accomplished diplomat was one of the emperor's close advisors, At the same time, however, he had the Pope's trust and had played an important mediating role between them since then. German princes and bishops were also involved until, after long discussions held in San Germano and concluded in Ceprano, and after much haggling by the Pope, peace was concluded in August i-3O and the dispute over Frederick, which had been ongoing since September, was resolved.

**7 *Criminal excommunication. However, this

to vacate the occupied territories of the Papal States, to grant free elections of bishops in the Kingdom of Sicily, also the exemption of the clergy from general taxes and secular courts {Privilegium fori) as well as the amnesty of political opponents; of all exiles and banished persons.*-

An astonishing concession, even an admission of guilt, a capitulation. And yet a peace treaty without peace, an apparent peace. For basically the pope, who undoubtedly won here, wanted no peace, no p e a c e at all with the emperor; just as the emperor wanted none at any price, he too harbored mistrust, ulterior motives, which soon became apparent, as the peace treaty itself made clear. The decisive factor, the core of the conflict, was completely excluded, not to mention the Lombard question.

The northern Italian city republics had been opposed to the centralist Hohenstaufen policy for decades, which had already led to heavy fighting under Barbarossa and the destruction of Milan (< 497 ff.!
53s) and i i67 *<r foundation of the Lombard League. However
There were traditionally pro-Staufer cities (especially Cremona) and anti-Staufer cities, the latter led by Milan. The groupings changed from time to time; and in zz6, when the emperor tried to push through his "heretic" laws in northern Italy, the League was reorganized and various communes and signories of the Po Valley joined together to form the "Second Lombard League" against Frederick, who now once again fought against those to whom his grandfather had succumbed

Frederick wanted to "pacify" Lombardy, which had been torn apart by feuds.

The Pope wanted to consolidate northern Italy, in his favor, of course, wanted to structure it tightly following the example of Sicily, abolutistically, which the Pope had to strictly oppose, as he himself insisted on the leadership of the Christian world, on the subordination of all other powers. Yet he needed the "tyrant of Sicily" as well as the "heresy" rampant in northern Italy, and needed him even more in the battle against Rome, in which he gladly allowed himself to be defended by Frederick's troops in Viterbo. On the one hand, he came to his aid, taking his side so unequivocally as far as

circumstances required.

but secretly he was on the side of the enemy. And when Frederick imposed the imperial ban on the League at•‹ J arlti:äßI2.j k, Gregory promptly sent two Lombard-friendly cardinals to the north for negotiations, both of whom were also Lombards by birth; indeed, one of them, Otto of St. Nicholas, had proposed the election of a German counter-king during Frederick's crossing.
propagie> l *3). They also openly supported the League, which commanded an army of more than zo ooo men, while the Pope only pursued their cause in secret, but clearly to the detriment of the League.
part of the emperor bending over once again*.

But when, in the fall of i z33 , a turnaround in Rome once again brought Gregory
when he fled to Rieti the following summer, the Romans plundered the Lateran, the palaces of the cardinals, the papal family seat in the Campagna, when the unrest in the city threatened to spread to the Papal States, for which they had to atone in the spring of ia3, Frederick's help was once again much sought after, as this was the only way to achieve Rome's subjugation. Gregory hypocritically offered to intervene once again in the Lombard League, and Frederick, who also needed papal support in other ways, in the kingdom of J- rusalem, in Germany, where his son Henry was beginning to oppose him more and more, once again fell for the Holy Father, whose €ksellschaft he enjoyed for almost two months in Rieti in the summer, where they were one man and one soul.
seemed to be the best. But when in December --34 the Lign made a pact with King Henry, which meant open rebellion, Gregory rebuked the Lombar-
not a word. Only against Henry did he turn his disgrace, having him banished and declaring the oaths of allegiance made to him null and void.

GR EG OR IX. H O L D S T O T H E F R O M T H E F R I E S A N D T H E S T R I C TS

Frederick 11 now seemed to have finally seen through the pope's insidiousness, seemed to know at last that he could only restore the empire's power in Italy against him with the help of the empire. So he went to Germany with little company, but with spectacular oriental pomp, pardoned the outrages there, but on z. However, on July 17, in the palace of Wimpfen, Frederick deposed his son, the young Henry, who was so full of joie de vivre, so supportive of the minstrels, but who had a different, pro-city and pro-imperial concept and was rather hostile to the princes, and who had to submit unconditionally; Frederick imprisoned him first in Heidelberg, then in several Apulian &rg fortresses, where, after years of rigorous imprisonment, perhaps by his own hand,

>4 perished; much wept over by the Father, with a "flood of tears from Our innermost being-, at any rate lamented in four letters and laid to rest with Mass hymns, sacraments, with royal honors.**

After his son's condemnation, the emperor aiTi-5 JUli iz3 y celebrated his marriage to Isabella, the sister of the English King Henry III, in Worms.

Guelphs, but shortly afterwards Otto the Child, grandson of Henry the Lion, was elevated to the throne as Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. After the marriage was consummated, however, *Isabelle* of England disappeared into the hands of Frederick's Saracen eunuchs, sharing the fate of all his wives - nothing but mothers of his children without any public role.

One month after the wedding pomp, the regent concluded an imperial peace treaty for an indefinite period at the glittering Imperial Diet of Mainz, which was packed with princes and attended by Italians, to promote the forthcoming war and assured himself of the help of the German greats in defeating his Lombard opponents and all his adversaries. He informed the pope that the imperial campaign was to begin in April, whereupon relations with the Curia deteriorated even further. Gregory supports

The Lombards now openly supported the independent upper Italian communes, as always naturally in the interests of peace, encouraging them for all time against any ruler from Germany who might oppress them, even if it was in the interests of the Roman emperors. However, it became increasingly obvious that it was not only a matter of war between the emperor and the pope, but also against the Lombards, who were hostile to the emperor.

Gregory now did everything he could to harm Frederick. He successfully ope- rated through the cardinal legate Jacob of Palestrina, who, it is said, was an angel of peace born in Piacenza, who persuaded his native city to abandon the imperial cause and join the League, a painful loss for the monarch. Gregory appealed to the northern Italian prelates to support his ruler and denounced him in a lengthy document. -You see kings and princes b o w i n g t h e i r necks before the knees of priests, Christian emperors not only not rising above the Roman, no, not even above any other bishop."

That's how the masters liked it. Yet it was precisely the biggest cases that had to support their hypertrophied lust for power, such as the donation of Constantine. According to the pope, Constantine had given the Roman bishop the imperial dignity and emperorship, the city of Rome and the whole of Italy before he himself left for Greece.

disappeared (cf. -4 chap.!). -Therefore," Gregory concludes after reminding Frederick o f "the right of the apostolic see" and the "duty of fidelity", "humble yourself under the commanded ones.

...- And this hand, no doubt, is always theirs in these circles. For -God-, these are the masters themselves!

The emperor did not hesitate any longer. He was in Verona with strong forces in August I2j6, left the Lombardy towards the end of the year, where civil war broke out everywhere among his representatives, until he himself returned in September of the following year with twice as large a force, his intervention of course not as a

-war, but as a restoration of order,

an - execution of the law". He took possession of Mantua, and on

*7- November -*37 at Cortenuova - "a terrible massacre" (Salimbene of Parma) - the heavy German horsemen completely routed the Milanese army. The town's platform, a
son of the Doge of Venice, was captured and her chariot (carroccio) captured. Stored in the cathedral (!) during peace and retrieved during war {-extrahere carrociutri-, also used in a figurative sense), the war vehicle had a sacred character and enjoyed patriotic veneration. Frederick then entered Cremona in triumph, preceded by a white Eefant, and at the top of the mast, in chains, Mailaiid's podestà Pietro Tiepolo. Later on, the gray- dosed piece of booty was sent to the Romans, along with other field insignia, for the Pope's protection.

However, the victory did not have the expected consequences. Milan did submit, but not unconditionally, on grace and disgrace, as Frederick demanded of rebels and especially of a city so reserved towards his house. So the war continued, albeit without any notable success for the emperor. The communes that still resisted him on Milan, Genoa, Piacenxa, Alessandria, Bologna, Faenza and Brescia, avoided open battle and kept themselves hidden behind seemingly impregnable walls. He attacked Brescia in vain for almost a quarter of a year in the late Sonurian i zj8, with the Brescians hanging the prisoners from the imperial army by their arms outside the city walls.

With rainy prestige and poor prospects, Frederick left on October q. October, while Gregory - the first result of the Imperial defeat - was just now, after three years of exile, able to return to Rome amidst the usual popular rejoicing, but for a fee of more than io ooo pounds of hard gold. The crisis also continued where there had just been the long-lasting revolt of Petrus Frangipane, the sprout of a family mostly friendly to the pope, but since Henry Vt. hostile to the pope, now the most powerful Roman partisans of the StaufeE Therefore, Gregory also had the Frangipani castle between the Colosseum and Palatine, the Turris Chartularia, razed, which meant the loss of many ancient monuments, as with countless other tumults.

in Christian Rome and throughout the Christian kingdom {cf. III 559 ff ° ° l-"

Gregory now struck the final destructive blow, a battle to the death, waged by both sides with almost unprecedented passion. Pope legate Gregory of Monte Longo, Frederick's staunch opponent, established peace and alliances among the emperor's enemies in northern Italy. And Holiness himself painstakingly, but secretly, reconciled two of the country's leading naval powers, the old rivals Venice and Genoa, pledged them mutual support and allied with them against the Hohenstaufen for nine years in the late autumn of iz38, with the pact also providing in particular for an attack on the Kingdom of Sicily.

A letter from Frederick dated io. March of the following year to the College of Cardinals, which was divided, did not reach it; the Pope intercepted the letter. And on zo. March i Z3q, Palm Sunday - the day on which the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Hermann von Salza, who had so far prevented the worst from happening, died in Salerno - he again expelled Frederick from the Church. He released his subjects from the oath of allegiance and repeated the curse publicly and solemnly on Maundy Thursday, the traditional date for the papal act of love for the enemy. He then announced to the world that he had *given* the emperor's body "to Satan ... - whereupon he revealed all its wickedness, as he had so often done before, albeit neither convincingly nor formally. For example, in this tedious collection of sins, he first emphasized that Frederick had incited the Romans to rebellion against the Church, while he had just saved papal rule in the year I•i 4 . And the pope did not say a word about the Lombard problem, which was almost his sole motivation.

The Hohenstaufen replied as versierr as exactly one month late; on zo. April, in a detailed letter to the kings and princes. He accused Gregory, who had proved to be his mortal enemy, of hypocrisy, bribery, the squandering of church property, the sale of marriage dispensations behind the cardinals' backs, taking sides with the Lombard rebels and the "heretic herd" of Milan.

The Holy Father, for his part, hurled out pages of insults, scolded Frederick, the apocalyptic deep that had risen from the sea, the dragon and hammer of the world, a shameless liar, yet it was he, Gregory, who all too nimbly penned distortions, slanders and lies, as when he claims that the Landgrave of Thuringia, the victim of the plague {p. z3 z), "probably died of poison". When he claims that the emperor in whose kingdom - a blatant untruth - "heresy" is flourishing, is himself a "heretic, forerunner of the devil, the Antichrist, who calls Moses, Christ, Mohammed the greatest deceivers of mankind, ridicules the virgin birth of God and the like, which eq Gregory occasionally still wants to prove. His flare-up is so rnaBless that the Catholic Seppelt cannot spare the Pope's plicaBon the accusaBon that it "indulges in one-sidedness and distortions of the facts", that it makes accusaBons against the Kaiseq
-which cannot be proven, and for which they can only rely on rumors.
can call-. Frederick hurriedly made a Catholic profession of faith to the cardinals by letter and also reviled the Pope as the Antichrist.

In this way, the two leaders of Christendom fought against each other and did everything they could to enlighten the world, whereby Gregory had the advantage of his multipliers, his clergy, especially his mendicant monks, all of whom Frederick had expelled. And to the spiritual weapons, the high priest added even more tangible, incisive ones: soldiers and money, which he drummed up everywhere for pious purposes, sometimes against the resolute opposition of the clergy. The whole of France was to march against the emperor, for which Gregory generously, but unavoidably, lured them with his crown. It gradually became clear that the Lombard question was the real obstacle to an understanding between the emperor and the pope, not the ecclesiastical encroachments, which were the main reason for the ban against Frederick (Seppelr).

In Germany, Alberr Behaim {Albertus Bo-
hemus, a Bavarian) worked hard for the Pope. The canon of Passau, who was as industrious as he was rigorous - presumably keen on

He was a bishop, not only politically but also literary active (we have the first paper manuscript of his preserved in Germany) - had worked under Innocent III and Honorius III at the Curia and was appointed i-3 by Gregory IX as legate (or my other, agent - in praxi jacket like trousers) to the German, especially the German, and especially the German, Church.

the Bavarian front. There he not only engineered the Bohemian king's anti-Cairo alliance with the dukes Otto of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria, but also threw around ecclesiastical prosecutions, the excommunication of bishops and the interdict against cities to such an extent that he was forced to flee several times. It was not until the year of Frederick II's death that the fanatic succeeded in deposing Bishop Rüdiger of Passau, who had always been resolutely loyal to the emperor.

Incidentally, Albert Behaim had little success because the German clergy stood by Frederick. Gregory's invectives were apparently not even proclaimed in the empire north of the Alps. Some prelates were furiously opposed. The Bishop of Brixen blocked the Pope's messengers from the streets. The Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Freising trampled a papal letter underfoot. The pastor of Regensburg publicly mocked the envoys of Rome, and his cathedral chapter wanted to chase 6oo knights into the field for the emperor.

Germany's secular princes were somewhat less committed. Although Frederick was able to buy plenty of mercenaries for money, he remained dependent on the Lower Italian Empire for men and material, against which the Pope was now planning a war of aggression: the conquest of Sicily and the installation of another king. For this reason, the Holy Father had allied himself with the maritime cities of Venice and Genoa {p. z46), which were to provide fifty warships and several hundred knights, as well as carry out the landing operations, in return for which they were promised several cities, an enormous amount of spoils of war and other privileges. Gregory, for his part, wanted to throw knights into battle and settle the pecuniary matters.

Initially, the war went well for the Pope. They conquered Como, Treviso, got Ravenna in their hands and struck

Frederick's army before Piacenza. It was only when he changed his strategy and no longer marched against the Lombards but against the patrimony and Rome itself that things became dangerous for Gregory and everything was at stake for him, especially as he was unable to ßow and had enough opponents in the capital, whose large merchant lords co-financed Frederick's war, right up to the College of Cardinals. Rome's population was itself largely hostile to the pope and had at least repeatedly chased him away.

In dire need, the Grecian priest turned to a metaphysical trick that was always as popular as it was tried and tested among his peers. He made a pilgrimage on aa. February, the day before Peter's (alleged) ascension to the throne, with the holiest (alleged) martyrs' remains, the supposed heads of the princes of the apostles, from St. John Lateran to St. *Under,* where he spoke to the people and finally called out, taking the a4irra from his head and putting it on the relics: -Do you defend Rome if the Romans will not!" A well-calculated and -staged clerical theatrics suddenly turned the mood of the crowd in favor of the Pope, who did not fail to grant everyone, including women, who now rushed to take up arms against Frederick and had the cross hung on their heads. The emperor then had nothing more to gain and withdrew.

However, the pope lost out on the next blow, even though he was about to hit the emperor.

We are talking about the council convened at Easter, which was to be attended by representatives of the monasteries and cathedral chapters as well as representatives of secular princes, almost exclusively enemies of Frederick. He himself had called for the council, but under different circumstances and different leadership: a council announced by the cardinals. But now that Gregory was insisting on his plan, which meant that the outcome was a foregone conclusion, the monarch sabotaged the matter. He demanded a general blockade of those traveling to the church assembly, demanded penalties, arrests and robbery, so that the overland route was no longer possible.

The Pope entrusted Genoa with the transportation of the synod members by ship. But the Emperor became aware of the plan. And

when the Genoese fleet sailed from Nice on z5. April from Nice, the Genoese fleet, a7 galleys with

On May 3, I-4-, when the fleet, which included clerics from England, France and Spain, passed the islands of Gigiio and Montecristo to the south-east of Elba, it was attacked by an imperial8 squadron under its admiral from Genoa and King Enzio of Sardinia, Frederick's favorite son, as commander of a Sicilian-Pisan alliance. The attackers sank vz galleys, only five escaped, the Archbishop of Besanqon drowned. Over a hundred prelates were captured, completely robbed and imprisoned in the emperor's castles in Apulia, some of them in Ketren - not without Gregory's kind admonition to patiently endure their difficult fate.

The victory was remarkable, the consternation of the popes, the protest accordingly, including a sharp and successful reprisal by King Louis IX of France against the disgraceful tiaktie'en of his bishops. Nobody spoke of the landing in Sicily any more. The pope's grandiose project literally fell through with the sinking of the Genoese fleet. The emperor invaded the Papal States and moved against Rome, where his following was growing, where Cardinal John Colonna had already renounced the pope months earlier and called Frederick to storm the metropolis, where Richard of Cornwall, who had just arrived from the Holy See, was still in July.
wall, the emperor's brother-in-law and later German king {p. 35 1. had made a last and admittedly again futile attempt at mediation. And while Frederick in that feverish
Summer ever closer the Eternal City destroyed, the surroundings healed, took places, dragged, without the cornered pontiff even thought to give in, rather as e v e r demanded submission from Frederick, humble Zukreuzekrie- chen, took him even on zz. August ia¢z the death.--.

However much the views and goals of the two differed, they had a common opponent, the "heretics", and in fighting them they worked nolens volens into each other's hands.

7- CHAPTER

THE INQUISITION BEGINS

-As far as heretics are concerned, they are guilty of a sin that justifies them not only being expelled from the Church by means of ecclesiastical banishment, but also being removed from this world by the death penalty. After all, it is a much more serious offense to falsify faith, which is the life of the soul, than to falsify money, which is the life of a woman. If, therefore, counterfeiters or other offenders are rightly promoted from life to death by temporal princes, with how much greater right can heretics not only be expelled from the church community immediately after their conviction for heresy, but also be executed more justifiably - Thomas Aquinas'

• The popes were not only murderers on a grand scale, but also made murder a legal principle of the Christian church and a condition for salvation - the Catholic historian Lord Acton*

-In every prison the crucifix and torture stood side by side, and in almost every country the abolition of torture was finally due to movements which met with the opposition of the Church, and to men whom the Church cursed."-William E. H. Lecky'

THE APPROACHES OF THE PRESENT)NQU ISITION IN GERMANY - KoxnxD FROM MARBURG

Although the possibility of intervening against heretics had long existed in the episcopal court, it was not enough for the hierarchs. Certainly, it was by no means a question of their self-assertion, of safeguarding the clerical existence, but of prevention, of a more decisive defense. Century for rendering the heretics harmless, but without organizing a corresponding procedure. On 8 JUli Z I I Pope Calixt lL, whom we have already encountered as a forger of documents, called on the secular power to "eradicate the heretics" through the Synod of Toulouse {VI Aoi f.). And after I*7P L'=-ander lH had given somewhat more precise directives on this at the Third Lateranum {VI y3q) and obliged the state powers to prosecute under threat of punishment, 4 **'* successor Lucius III and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa decided on even stricter measures in Verona and threatened banishment, interdict and deposition in the event of a breach of duty.

Anyone who disobeyed the priestly command was considered a "heretic", and it was the Church, always the Church, that forced the secular ruler to be harsh and merciless. -It did not want to hear of mercy and did not want to hear of excuses. The monarch wore his crown with the obligation to eradicate heresy and to ensure that the laws against it w e r e harsh and mercilessly enforced. Any hesitation was punished with excommunication. If this proved ineffective, his

possessions to the first best bold adventurer and
The church provided him with an army - (Lea).

The episcopi were now required to conduct inquiries once or twice a year in all suspected places, which was less the introduction of the episcopal inquisition than a continuation of the episcopal court. Inriocent III, who took over the decree, then demanded a permanent ban for excommunicated heretics. And Gregory IX's constitution of i z 3 i already presupposed the death penalty. When Frederick II therefore imposed it in his infamous blood laws the following year, he was -clearly confirming an already existing legal custom (Hauck).

The emperor - which neither exonerates him nor should it, but rather incriminates him even more - only enacted these abominable laws out of political consideration, because, as the Franciscan Thomas Tuscus expressly says, he wanted to please the pope, because he wanted to prove himself to be a true believer, a Catholic, in order to prevent the threat of excommunication. And the albeit unjustly respected Dominican inquisitor Bernhard Guidonis, who always held the highest offices in his order, explicitly pointed out that these imperial decrees owed their existence to the Pope. In fact, the Inquisitor writes: -At various times the apostolic see has issued decrees against heretical wickedness; also the imperial laws were promulgated for this purpose by Emperor Frederick *at the instigation of the apostolic see* (procursrtte esdem sede)."^

For the first time, King Peter II legalized "death by fire for heresy".

of Aragon in a noble act i*97. but without this example being quickly followed. i zi o, Otto IV decreed the confiscation of assets and the destruction of their houses, the latter already ordered by Henry VI and then also by Frederick II.

concluded. On zz. November i, Frederick threatened femer - heretics" with the confiscation of their property and the eight, which was equivalent to the death penalty, as it made the convicts outlaws for everyone. i az4 he ordered the cutting out of the tongue or death at the stake, depending on the judge's choice, for -heresy", which he definitively stipulated in his Sicilian

constitution. He also làfit himself,

At least in his Neapolitan possessions, he executed numerous people and two years later reported to the Pope that he had forced the persecution.

Gregory IX, who at that time accused the emperor of abuses, accusing him of having personal enemies, indeed more good Catholics than bad ones.

t o burn "heretics", but had ordered them to be systematically tracked down i z3 i. Their protectors and fences should also be ineligible for all offices, should not inherit, should not appoint heirs, should not appear as witnesses in court. Gregory himself was successful as a persecutor, and the faithful were often able to enjoy the spectacle of heretics being burned (Lea). In order to convey these joys to as many people as possible, the Holy Father sent the new heretical law to the bishops in February xz3 i and, in the following year, corresponding decrees to the princes. He also entrusted the preaching monks, the Dominicans, with the implementation of their own Inquisition, as well as the Mainz cleric Konrad von Marburg.

The papal inquisition in Germany began with Konrad, who had long been known to the Curia as reliable. The "highly educated" (Patschovsky) clerical drudge master had begun his glorious work as a papal crusade propagandist izi / x zi 6 in northern and central Germany. However, he initially attacked the "heretics" on his own initiative. Count Hoensbroech considers the burning of 8o Waldensians in Strasbourg IaIZ to be Conrad's first act as an inquisitor. For the year I**4, the "Annales Worma- tienses , -which the emperor always wanted, he had burned throughout Germany, without objection". The "Gesta Treverorum" also not only mentions the Do-minican's victims at the stake - "an innumerable number of people of the lower classes and of both sexes" - but also praises his "indomitable courage a n d passion for his cause".

No doubt, a priest after the heart of the Pope, his great patron. Gregory IX. legitimized him on iz. June izzy he authorized him to do the noble deed of "eradicating the weeds from the Lord's field". i z3 i he appointed him as an independent "ket- zer" judge "with extensive inquisitorial powers" (Le-

xikori for theology and the church). On October i i of this year, he wished salvation and apostolic blessing to his beloved son, Magister Konrad of Marburg, preacher of the Word of God. Gregory praised - to the best of his ability the Creator, who has bestowed many gifts of grace on you and has chosen you as his exquisite child! - *Glorious tales are told of you, and we rejoice in your progress* ... You fought with all your strength against the {ket- cian] wickedness so successfully that numerous heretics have been eradicated from the field of the Lord through you. But so that you can fight these foxes, who devastate the pure mountain of the Lord in all sorts of sneaky ways, all the more unrestrainedly, we want y o u not to be satisfied with the investigation of legal cases {te a cognitionibus causarum habere voltimus excusatum) and ask and admonish you, with remission of your sins, that you look around for suitable helpers to eradicate the pernicious heretics [not heresy], wherever they may be ..."

Of course, Conrad also had to make use of the 'secular arm', and Gregory ordered each participant in the good work to pay all the ecclesiastical penalties imposed on him for three years. However, should one of them die in the "persecution of heretics", the pope opened up the most beautiful prospects for him: no more purgatory, but straight into paradise.

Meanwhile, Brother Conrad, who was loved by God's governor and by God himself, also acted as confessor and most important spiritual advisor to the young Landgravine Elisabeth of Thuringia and, at the same time as he was also carrying out his extremely fruitful work as a papal "heretic" hunter, particularly in the Middle Rhine region, he urged Elisabeth's canonization.

The funeral pyres smoke far and wide, now his uncounted number of people ... to the ground (Annales Colonienses maximi) in Erfurt, Mainz, Cologne, Marburg, where even an old woman who did not want to -convert- was turned into ashes {cf. p. i yg f.). The Saxon World Chronicle also notes that there were many heretics in the German lands ... therefore Master Gon- rade of Marpurg branded many heretics because of the preacher. Only Konrad's assistant, the Dominican friar Konrad Dorso, has "wot

dusent branded. Finally, Brother Konrad Dorso and his one-eyed mutilated playmate Johannes, a real Schinderhannes {totus nequam), proceeded from the very ecclesiastical principle: better that a hundred innocent people should die than that one guilty person should escape. -They had whoever they wanted arrested in the towns and villages and handed these people over to the judges *without any further evidence with* the words: "These are heretics; we withdraw our hand from them." The judges then had to burn them, whether they wanted to or not, according to the Annales Colonienses maximi- on the day of the accusation.

Thus, as through the entire period of the Holy Inquisition, already killed countless people by virtue of blatant violations of the law, by virtue of false testimony, even on suspicion and without further investigation, *even* those who confessed *their* faith to their last breath, who "still called upon Christ and his divine Mother in the flames ...".

Gregory did not give "heretics" an appeal. Lawyers and notaries who assisted them lost, eq ordered, their office forever. Yes, they were in danger of being burned as well; likewise "Heretics" who refused to name accomplices. They sued people without wanting to sue them, saying things they knew nothing about. Nor did anyone dare to intercede on behalf of someone who was being accused, or even to put forward grounds for mitigation, because he was regarded as a defender of the heretics, and the pope had decreed the same punishments for them and the heretics' fences as for the heretics themselves. If someone had renounced the sect and relapsed, he was burned to death without being able to recant (Gesta Treve- rorum) - soon a general principle.

For years, the German episcopate not only tolerated but supported the blood work of these papal creatures, whose unspeakably atrocious activities are completely ignored in the multi-volume Catholic Handbook of Church History, and many a bishop defended them even after their death. They won over spiritual and secular rulers, including the king, by saying: -We will burn many rich heretics, and you shall have their goods. In the episcopal cities

one half was to go to the bishop, the other to the king or another judge. These lords rejoiced at this, made advances to the inquisitors and summoned them to their towns and villages.

It was only when Konrad attacked higher-ups, lords of castles and nobles, when he himself accused the Counts of Sayn, Solms, Arnsberg and the Count of Looz of heresy, that the Archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Tricq urged him to burn with more violence, but he would not rest. However, when King Henry took sides with the high nobility and against Konrad at the Mainz Court Diet in 1233, he was slain on his journey home on July 3o. And only his removal, already near Marburg, his hometown, where he was laid to rest, appropriately in the Church of St. Elisabeth, alongside the saint, is said to have at least temporarily ended the worst excesses.

Just a few weeks before Conrad's death, however, Pope Gregory IX had urged him on io. Jun' **33 6had incited him to -the rotting flesh with
Fire and iron- to remove. At the same time, Gregor animated
also the Archbishop of Mainz to slaughter "heretics", as well as King Henry, by recommending to him shining examples of the Old Testament to imitate, biblical murderers and mass murderers.
murderer: -Where is the zeal of a Moses who destroyed z3 ooO idolaters in one day? Where is the zeal of a *Phinees* who destroyed Jews and the Madianite woman *drilled* with a thrust Where is the efer of an Elijah who *killed* the 4s" prophets of Baal with the sword ... -

And on si. October 1133, the pope sent an enthusiastic obituary to the north: -You princes of the Church in Germany, what is it that you do not weep and mourn over the cruel murder of Conrad of Marburg, the servant of the Light and leader of the bride of Jesus Christ, committed by servants of darkness3- No one has frightened the -heretics- more, no one has defended the Church more, writes Gregory IX. and does not hesitate to declare that the assassination of Conrad, "a marine of consummate virtue and a herald of the Christian faith", could not b e punished at all ...-.

All this can be traced back to Pope Gregory IX: he attempted an inquisition through legates, appointed inquisitors in Rome and Florence, tightened up the existing legislation against heretics and thus exposed them to the death penalty. Finally, he also founded a papal inquisition, alongside the episcopal one, and after iz5 i placed its implementation in the hands of the Dominicans, who were particularly effective in northern Italy and Languedoc.

3In Toulouse, nineteen Albigensep, including several women, were murdered by the Dominican Raimund de Falguario.
burned. In Florence in July zz33, the Dominican inquisitor John burned sixty respected men and women at the stake. The Dominican inquisitor Robert, appointed by Gregory, who also reduced many Merish to ashes in Cambrai, Douai and Lille, had many men burned to death in Mont-Aime in Champagne in July zz33. times -*39 -u Mont-Aime in Champagne 1 3
Burning "heretics" - "a gross and pleasing to the Lord
Burnt offering" (maximum holocaustum [!] et placabile Domino), as the report states.

The Dorninicans p r a c t i c e d their common work of murder throughout Europe, but especially in the south, in Spain, Italy and southern France. Yes, there was a Dominican Inquisition in Africa and Asia, in Tunis and Morocco, in Armenia, Russia and Georgia, even if it was relatively harmless because it was not supported by cruel state laws (such as those of Frederick II or Louis the Saint). But at least in Eufopa, the preacher brothers were probably the worst Catholic bloodhounds for centuries. Their founder, the Spanish priest Domingo de Guzman, Dominic, had "early on made the spirit of Christ *his own"* (Wetzer/Welte, Kirchen-Lexikon, 4s). Dominic was one of the great shapers of the institutionalized discipleship of Jesus in religious life (Lexikon für Theo- logie und Kirche, i qq 5). Pope Gregory canonized him i z3q, a man whose most common emblem is a dog with a burning
ning torch in the ma nl. How the Dominicans are to be

of their bloodthirsty salvation role Domini cani- called dogs of the Lord.

In the course of salvation history, the penalties were increasingly harder and

become more salutary. The councils of ReiiTl5 1157 *and of Ox- ford i i6o had imposed branding on the face of heretics. And even Innocent III threatened to i iqq the Albigensians.

At first -only- banishment and confiscation. But then the death penalty became more common. And although there were various forms of execution - in Cologne, Nuremberg and Regensburg the "drowning of heretics" at times, in Wiirsburg beheading - death by fire became the rule for them.

The burning, usually on a feast day, turned the church into a demonstration of its de facto all-night, a pointy ritual sacrifice, more attractive than any other kitchen festival. The celebration was called Autodafé in Portuguese, actus fidei in Latin, and was therefore an act of faith, unquestionably the most fiery in the history of the religion. Special riders issued invitations, the crowds of people and the condemned were brought in processions, high prices were paid for window seats and a plenary indulgence was guaranteed for each person dragging wood to the pyre - the Catholic world has been deprived of this great opportunity since the I century. The last auto-da-fé is said to have been celebrated in Mexico in 8i 5 (the first -4g' in Seville).

Clergymen and secular princes took part, and after the

When the Grand Inquisitor had handed over those condemned to death to the secular power in a square or in a house of God after High Mass and a sermon, not without the heartfelt wish to "spare the lives and limbs" of these people, they were brought to the place of execution - usually wearing a jester's hat because of their ludicrous depravity, in sackcloth, bright yellow and full of the most ludicrous visages, so that even the stupidest Catholic could see straight away what a brainchild the wicked were¡ whereby they were often beaten with sticks, pinched with red-hot tongs and sometimes even had their right hand cut off. Also, with tenacious consideration for the people of God, the

• Heretics" to prevent their screams, a kind of brake in the

Mouth, so that nothing could be heard but the almost cozy crackling of the flames and the litany of the priests. And while their victims suffocated or slowly burned, depending on the direction of the wind, the assembled nobility, people and clergy sang "Great God, we praise you".

The inquisition courts were the most noble courts of the church and were removed from any profane influence. They were considered inviolable and usually adorned themselves with the attributes of "holy" and "most holy". For the dirtier a thing is, the more it must be verbally freed from dirt, the more it must be embellished, ennobled, elevated to the lofty, sublime.

Official church pronouncements or popes such as Innocent IV and Clement IV glorified the Inquisition in their bulls YOfR March 23,••s‹ ••d• m z6. February i z66. The Inquisitors themselves were placed in an illustrious line of ancestors, in connection with a whole gallery of glorious Old Testament gangsters such as Saul, David {I 8y ff.!), Joshua (I 83 f.) and others. But Jesus, John the Baptist5 Peter also belonged to the family tree of the Inquisi- tors - yes, God himself, the father of Adam and Eve from the Pa- radies, was regarded as the first "inquisitor". In any case, these murderers were agents of the Pope. They constantly and everywhere attributed their authority solely to him.

Ixqu isIzI Ox SG hFÄNGN ISSE, O RTS AND FROM THE BARREN GRAY EN

The Inquisition Court was opened by an invocation to the Holy Spirit, and prayers were also said before the verdict was pronounced. The verdict was, of course, exempt from any review by state courts, even in cases of great doubt. These acted only as executive instruments of the ecclesiastical ones, whose sentences they -blindlings" (coeca obedientia), -with closed eyes!- {oculis clausis) had to be completed.

Numerous papal bulls sharpened the princes'

dammed duty and obligation. After all, it was not only the Doges of Venice who were bound by an oath of office to burn all heretics. And the Guelph Otto IV wanted to provide the same effective support in the eradication of heretical wickedness as his opponent, the Hohenstaufen Frederick II, who, however, went the furthest and demanded of all his rulers, consuls and rectors that they would do their utmost to eradicate all heretics identified by the Church in their lands. They had to swear this publicly, otherwise they would b e deposed and lose their land, which had a widespread effect.

The popes vigorously insisted that orders and demands should not be issued until the end.

The inquisitors' demands had to be fulfilled quickly, that they themselves had to be provided with escorts by the state, above all to ensure that the Inquisition decrees were included in the secular collections of laws. Thus Innocent lV wrote in his bull "Cum adversus haereticam" of z8. MãİĖ I ZŞa: -As the Roman Emperor Frederick has enacted certain laws against heretical malice, by which the spread of this plague can be prevented, and dø ii'zr sof- *ten, day these* laws *are observed* poor *strengthening of the faith and sum* heife of *the faithful, so be sure ii'ir the beloved* sons, *who form the authorities, incorporate these laws, the wording of which they send along, into their statutes and proceed with great diligence against the heretics. Therefore, I command you* [inquisitors] to *fulfill your orders negligently*, *as these authorities force you* to do *through communiqué and interdiction. Those who leave the Catholic faith, we will banish completely, we will persecute them with punishments, we will deprive them of their property, we will abolish their inheritance, we will deprive them of all rights."*

The usual punishment for heretics was imprisonment, often for life. for life. In a register of sentences of the Toulouse Inquisition from the years••4 to i zą 8, which has only been partially handed down, there were

•49 incarcerated 6 ten years, i 6 an indefinite period, depending on the at the discretion of the church, and i 7 serve a life sentence.

The prisons of the Inquisition were places of unimaginable horror, cramped and dark by papal decree; usually

without any lighting or ventilation, but full of filth and stench. And in these cities, which were crammed full by the clergy and soon became too small, which is why Gregory IX ordered more to be built and granted abundant indulgences to Christians who contributed to them, people served sentences that were far worse than the raging death at the stake, women and men often languished for manyJ years without being convicted or acquitted. For example, a man named Wilhelm Salaverr was sentenced on zq. February 1300 ßrwmals ver-
and sentenced on September 3o -3 -s, after nineteen years of uninterrupted misery. In Toulouse, a woman was pardoned -for carrying the cross- after * 33 years in the local prisons.
the company.

It goes without saying that very few prisoners made it through such a time alive. The extremely gentle, modest, lovable Franciscan, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, was imprisoned in the i3 th century for unorthodox speculations about the Trinity and was imprisoned for 8 years on bread and water, in chains, until his death. and Piero de'Nubili. In the early -4th century, the Franciscan spiritual Pontius Bautugati was arrested for his refusal to publish some of the forbidden tracts of Petrus Johannis Olivi, a leading Spirituals (gcst. i aq8), to be delivered for burning, chained tightly to the wall of a damp, filthy dungeon, where he rotted to death in the dirt with little water and bread¡ when he was hurriedly buried, his flesh had already been eaten by worms.

The victims were often crammed into heaps of stinking holes in a very confined space. For example, it is said that there were forty people in a 4o-foot-long and z y-foot-wide enclosure. In the middle was a pit for urinating, plus a *gm-strick* fecal trough that was emptied twice a week. "From the women's dungeon, which was above us, the urine seeped through the ceiling into our dungeon". These hells were often underground, without fresh air, without light. The victims of church and state, often forged against the wall, often vegetated for years and their whole lives with scanty supplies, multiplying until they were imprisoned in the Ire

The people who died in this way ended by suicide, by a so-called natural death or one day by torture or in the flames of the pyre.

PRACTI CA IN Q U ISITI O NI S

Many experts wrote manuals or textbooks on their knowledge of salvation. For example, to name just a few of the most respected, we have the "Practica Inquisitionis haereticae praviiatis" by the Dominican Bernard Guidonis (or Gui}, who during his tenure as Inquisitor

According to one tradition, he had i7 people burned to death and was elevated to Bishop of Lodeve by Pope John XXII as thanks for this i3-4 - not at all, as the innocent think

could, cynically speaking. The church elected several inquisitors as popes, and as late as i7 S fltCh, Pius IX canonized Pedro Arbues, one of Spain's cruelest masters of persecution, who shone through various autodafés {Fest7 September).

The intention of the Inquisition is expressed by the Dominican Guidonis in

his doctrinal treatise clearly as follows: - 2The *purpose* of the *Inquisition is the destruction of heresy; but heresy cannot be destroyed by destroying the heretics ... But the heretics are destroyed in two ways;* first, by sending themselves back from heresy to the Catholic religion, and *second, by being physically burned, having passed over to temporal judgment."*

i 7 The Dominican Nicolas Eymerich, Inquisitor General for Arabia and papal chapellain in Avignon, published a "Guide for Inquisitors", the much-published "Direcrorium

inquisitorum", which is said to be "unsurpassed" in its effectiveness {Count Hoensbroech) and was soon regarded by the Roman Curia as an "irreplaceable working instrument for the inquisition process" {Roma- nello). In a later appendix it contains a 4-J numbered list of heretical sentences for the convenience of the most reverend inquisitors.

The "Tractatus de Officio sanctissimae Inquisitionis- of Tho-

mas Careña - fiscal of the Roman Inquisition and confidant of St. Charles Borromeo - already establishes the principle that governs his gziizes opus in the "Prelude" (anreludia): -heresies are to be eradicated, and heretics must be conquered *with men and* scùmert, for they are more easily overcome than persuaded. Nowhere are heretics punished so sacredly and justly as before the judgment seat of the Inquisition ..."

An inquisition manual of the Franciscan order from the I6th century is entitled: "Penal instruction for the order of the minor brothers of St. Francis to apply justice in a holy manner. It is entitled: "Criminal instruction for the Order of the Friars Minor of St. Francis to apply justice in a holy manner: Practica criminalis ad sancte administrandam justitiam in Ordine Fratrum Minorum S. Fran-

Justice, after holiness, passed over these murderers
everything.

However, what the "manuals of the Inquisition" actually present to their esteemed, most reverend colleagues time and again is a wealth of dirty tricks to wring a confession out of their victims, most of whom are already exhausted from prison. For example, the inquisi- tors are supposed to leaf through files and papers as if they already know everything, so that the prisoner believes they have already been convicted. Or a converted "heretic", smuggled in as a sect member, is supposed to gain the trust of his former comrade and make him talk, whereupon eavesdroppers at the door, including a notai, write down everything incriminating. Or you simply lie about having to travel, feigning participation with the prisoner, saying that you've seen him.

-I would have liked to let go quickly because you can easily damage your health. But now I have to leave and I do not know when I will return. Since you don't want to confess, I'm afraid I'll have to leave you tied up in the dungeon until I return. Then the prisoner will probably begin to beg that he not be left in the dungeon, and so perhaps he will begin to confess" (Inquisitor Nicolas Eymerich).

Frà Tomaso of Aversa used a more crude, but thoroughly effective method. When, in Naples in 3oy, he was unable to extract

a confession from the Franciscan clerics even through the cruelest torture, he used the

He forced one of the younger brothers to starve for days, finally got him drunk on strong wine and was finally told that he and his companions were all "heretics". Just one year later, Pope Clement V was also able to recall the lack of food as a means of encouraging confession, in addition to torture and imprisonment.

It is also recommended that the accused should often be promised clemency, because the pardoned person would then denounce others who were still unknown, thus "luring the cunning snakes out of their hiding places". Although the goods of the amnestied were lost in this way, the assets of the newly denounced were gained, meaning that more rather than less was gained.

D ix Fo LTER, THAT IS A DRU CKEND STE Ix STRU MENT CHRI STLI CH ER AFTER STEN LIEB E

Of the three methods of conviction used by the Inquisition, purification, abjuration and torture, torture is the most suitable. Because heresy is difficult to prove, the inquisition judge should be inclined to use torture: ad torturam judex debet esse promptior- {Antoniiis Diana, consultor of the Sicilian Inquisition}.

St. Augustine, the bishop and Doctor of the Church, the archetype of all medieval "heretic" hunts, had already permitted torture against the Doctrines, defending it as a trifle compared to hell, almost as a "cure", emendatio (485).

The Augustinian "Ketzef" polemic was built in the x x. Century Bishop Anselm of Lucca, among others, io8o expelled by his own clerics, systematically exterminated them, whereby he understood Augustine quite correctly: action against the wicked was not actually persecution, but an exercise of love. Bishop Bonizo of Sutri, who calls on schismatics and other dissenters to fight with all their strength and weapons and is blinded and mutilated by his Christians io89, also does not hesitate to repeat Augustine's words in

to say that "blessed are those who endure persecution for the sake of righteousness".

North of the Alps, the most impressive instrument of Christian charity was already being used in Carolingian times, but only began to flourish in the 3rd century. century, when Innocent IV, in the bull "Ad exstirpanda" i zy z, made torture against northern Italians illegal.

-This was extended to the whole of Italy and confirmed in the following years by Popes Alexander IV and Clement IV. i z6 i Urban IV allowed inquisitors to absolve each other if a delinquent died during this somewhat more robust type of investigation. It was not allowed to torture an "interviewee" to death. In this case, the inquisitor was subject to excommunication. However, he was immediately released from it when a priest of the inquisition absolved him with the formula: Ego te absolvo.

At the beginning of the -4th century, when Clement V also ordered the torture during the Templar Exodus {p. 467).

Kingdom of Naples 4z Franciscan clergymen were severely tortured for five months, so that some of them died, the survivors were then whipped naked through the capital's penitentiaries, and the rest were tortured.

banished. The spiritualists, who were more inclined towards the early Franciscan way of life, greater contemplation, stricter poverty, were hunted down as far as Calabria, Sicily, Armenia and Jaffa, and, according to a list from the Inquisition Tribunal in Carcassonne, between

i3 i8 and -3 s also burned i i3 -brothers of the poor life-. Of course, the practice of even the spiriruals was not always spiritual. In Asciano, for example, they waited for their persecutors in the Minorite monastery they occupied, or in the Carmignano monastery near Florence behind embrasures with standard breasts.

The cross hung next to the torture, and during the torture the instruments of salvation were blown up several times with holy masses. They were therefore usually quickly effective in forcing all the desired confessions and also saved the inquisition food and accommodation costs.

In the Inquisition dungeon at Carcassonne, prisoners were

allowed 8 déniers per day and head (about 8 pennies) for their upkeep.

nig according to the German currency of iqoo), but the prison guards still wanted to earn money from it. As a result, torture quickly became popular with the clergy, while the state judiciary was slow to introduce it.

The types of torture were, as various manuals expressly emphasized, not defined by canon law¡ they were at the discretion of the judge. It was forbidden nm a tortured person - except in the case of new charges - to torture a second time. However, this was circumvented by r e s u m i n g t h e torture a day or two later after it had been interrupted, but then calling it "continued" rather than "renewed" torture (con- tinuata tormenta, non iterata). If a tortured person lost consciousness, he was to be doused with water or ignited with sulphur under his nose to bring him out of unconsciousness, after which the torture could be continued.

The age limit of those to be tortured was also controversial. It was of course open at the top. For adolescents, the councils of Toulouse, Béziers and Albi set fourteen years for males and twelve for females. However, there were also ecclesiastical authorities who reduced the age to seven. The Sacro Arsenale of the Dominican inquisitor Thomas Menghini also permitted the scourging of underage children.

The papal inquisitor Royas, who was active in Velrlin, made it a principle concerning witnesses: -Witnesses who testify badly about a heretic, e.g. that he is a murderer or a thief, are generally to be preferred to witnesses who testify well about him. Women, children and servants were not allowed to speak in favor of a defendant, but they were allowed to speak against him, and their testimony was welcome and particularly weighty. Also, witnesses for the prosecution could not only be family members and household members, spouses, underage children, domestics, but even Jews, infamous people, perjurers, even excommunicated people, people who, according to church opinion, were otherwise completely without rights and incompetent as witnesses. Only mortal enemies were excluded, but even they were obviously only conditional. Sometimes witnesses were able to

testimony against the accused, the inquisitors also had these witnesses tortured to obtain the truth".

The Franciscan Bernard Délicieux, who in 1300 documentarily declared that the records of the Inquisition deserved no trust, which was common belief, also stated that even St. Peter and St. Paul would have been convicted of heresy if they had been interrogated according to the method of the Inquisition.

• IT IS VERY BENEFICIAL **FOR THE XATHOLIC** CAUSE IF THE IN QU ISIT I O N REI CH LI CH G hLD M ITTEL BES ITZT"

While the people, the mass of Christians, sank into unmeasured misery all around them, Dominicans and Franciscans became rich through their blood business, by bribing the guilty and blackmailing the innocent. And since they received enough money, they also promised successful heretic hunters "eternal reward from God" as well as "appropriate temporal remuneration" (fnquisitor Bernhard Guidonis).

Henry Charles Lea has shown how extortion, blackmail and sureties developed into a branch of crime that lasted for centuries, in which many people were persecuted for the sole purpose of exploitation. In the middle of the >4th century, a single witness in Florence described sixty cases of extortion by the inquisitor Piero di Aquila, whereby the sums extorted, which can still be proven today, vary between twenty-five and seventeen hundred gold florins, whereby the inquisitor had extorted the enormous sum of seven thousand florins in just twoJ years - "although there were no heretics in Florence at the time".

However, such practices were common and were confirmed by the Vienne Cori- zil of 13i i. A decade earlyq I3OZ, .bChrieb

According to Pope Boniface VIII, the Franciscan inquisitors of Padua and Vicenza - in their shameful greed - extorted immeasurable sums from many men and women and inflicted all kinds of injustice on them". But what does the famous pope regret? That the evildoers "did not use the illicit profit for the good of the Holy Office or the Roman Church or their own order!

Now, the apparatus of the Inquisition certainly swallowed up money. For example, Guido of Thusis, the Inquisitor of Romagna, always had 3q assistants in the year i 3oz. Much more, however, was probably spent on other things or in clerical pockets. Initially, the inquisitors were forbidden from levying fines. But it happened early on. And then they were used for specific purposes, above all for the Holy Inquisition itself. After all, according to Inquisitor Nicolas Eymerich, there was no more salutary institution than this, through whose

-The heresy will be eradicated by the only existing good deed. For the Catholic cause, it is very beneficial if the Inquisition is richly

money world - and

Of course, money was also very beneficial for the funcńonaries of the Inquisition. And so they were ultimately able to dispose of money as they saw fit, but other punishments could also be converted into fines. The popes set a good example. If they were short of money, waged costly wars, they insisted on the conversion of inquisition fines into fines, regardless of the prerogatives of the inquisitors.

The inquisitors, of course, soon acted in the same way, with the money sometimes g o i n g t o "-frommeø purposes", but often only to those who set such payments. For it was not uncommon for the inquisitors to be able to defraud and monitor the popes. The secular authorities and the bishops were also involved in the loot, but the laws differed according to time and place. In general, only the greed for money, for the possession of the opfeq was an incessant haggling and haggling, a permanent, legally more or less regulated gangsterism.

-Ftn nie mruoxisciiz Saciie iss ss sung zirraxcxicu ...- _____ ayi

Incidentally, only money was used to punish the repentant. But by no means always with money alone. iaaq Gregory IX agreed in the bull "Excommunicamus" that all those who converted to the true faith after being arrested out of fear of death were to be "imprisoned for life and in this way perform their due penance". And almost simultaneously, the Council of Toulouse decreed the same. Stubborn and backsliding abct were deprived of everything and handed over to the secular court {absque misericordia) without mercy, usually with the stereotypically recurring twist of handing them the -due penalties {animadversio de- bita), which then always meant the death penalty.

There is probably nothing in Christianity that was endured with as much fear and loathing as the Inquisition, and probably little that was practiced with such intensity and mercilessness. -Even the human tormentors of the concentration camps," writes Hans Woll-schläger rightly, "did not know how to torture like this." This is due, apart from the fanaticism, the criminal madness for the cause, undoubtedly most of all to the profit it yielded through the fines, the confiscations; a punishment that the Church itself introduced from Roman law into European legislation to punish transgressions.

Both Alexander III (i i63) and Lucius III (I I8q) demanded confiscation. King Louis the Saint ordered it izy9 even for those who deliberately did not respond to summonses or in whose houses heretics were found. lnnocent III prescribed it for all -heretics- And one of his first official acts already dealt with it. Thus it says in the decree "Vergentis": - In the countries subject to our power, the goods of heretics are to be confiscated; in the other countries, this is to be done by the ecclesiastical authorities, who, should they prove negligent, are to be compelled to do so by ecclesiastical penalties. -'°

However, there was no universally valid regulation on the distribution of plunder. Pope Lucius III, for example, wanted to allocate the proceeds of confiscation exclusively to the church, which was a matter of course in the papal territories. At the time of Conrad of

Marburg (p. *57 f.) in German episcopal cities one half should be given to the bishop, the other half to the king or another judge.

men. The bishops also sometimes laid claim to the confiscation of the entire property of one of their jurisdictions.

heretic". At the Council of Lille, they threatened anyone who would dispute this right with excommunication".

This often led to conflicts of interest and long-lasting disputes. The brothers in Christ were constantly litigating over castles, vineyards, orchards, other lands and movable property. For thirty years, the active bishops of Albi fought with the crown over the spoils from the slaughter of the Albigensians; for thirty years, the bishops of Rodez fought with the crown over "heretical estates", and for around the same length of time, the Countess of Vendöme, Eleonore of Montfort, fought with the French king. The confiscation had already taken place in i 3oo, and the process was concluded in i 3 d.3

Even against the dead, it is not uncommon for legal proceedings to be taken.

rans. The bishop and the inquisitor of Ferrara fought for thirty-two years over the skeleton of Armanno Pongilupo of Fer- rara until the inquisitor won in 1301. And how terribly shocked the children and grandchildren of the heirs of the powerful and rich Gherardo of Florence, secretly a "heretic", who died in 1301, must have been when the inquisitor of the city began a trial against them, disinherited them all and subjected them to the legal incapacity of "ket- zer" descendants.

The unyielding cruelty of the church and its accomplices {including a heretical saint such as King Louis IX) punished in property and blood. But she punished not only the heretics but often also their help-ei; protectors punished anyone who had favored them in any way. Spying, eavesdropping and denunciation are systematically bred, every kind of abominable mental attitude, perpetual fear, deceit and spitefulness are encouraged, praised and rewarded, all trust between people is undermined and the whole thing, the pinnacle of perversion, is presented as a social ideal - a hell that has been perpetuated generation after generation.

generation into misery, one of the foundations of the history we have.

And yet how often has one denounced another only to avoid being denounced himself. A terror that begets terror, again and again, also and especially among our neighbors. For where would the biblical saying - man's enemies will be his household - have been more fulfilled! Pope Gregory IX praises the fact that men betray their wives, women their husbands; that parents betray their children, children their parents, orders that no-one should hesitate to betray their own family, ". uxor pro-
priis liberis, ant marito, vel consortibus ejusdem criminis, in hac parte sibi aliquatenus non parcebant-. A tetiflisclic system that bases its security on the fact that it makes the whole world insecure, threatens, ruins, that it even and especially drags families, even the most intimate private life, yes, even the descendants into its barbaric vendetta of justice.

Thus, all filial obligations towards heretical parents were abolished if they were regarded as *heretical* and *foreigners* and survived the Inquisition; only then did the right of inheritance continue to exist. Otherwise, even children who had remained Catholic lost their possessions and were completely robbed of their assets. The Church did not even allow them to keep their obligatory rope, leaving them only the bare necessities of life, and this, according to Innocent III in his decree -Ver- gentis -, *"only out of mercy"*. They lost everything else unmercifully. They were not to inherit a single denarius, commented Innocent's decree canonist Paul Ghirlandus, advisor to the papal vicar general in Rome. Rather, they had to vegetate in poverty and misery {debent semper in miseria et ege- state sordescete); -nothing should remain to them but the bare life that is left to them out of mercy¡ they should find themselves in such a situation in this world that *life becomes* a torment *to them and death a consolation"*.

It hardly requires much imagination to visualize the hopelessness, the appalling hardship into which countless people of all ages and genders have been plunged by these church proceedings, often literally overnight, left destitute and literally in front of the door.

often the suspicion of -heresy||, even the arrest entailed the confiscation of all assets.

However, it was not only private life that was so incredibly endangered, but also the entire business existence that was boundlessly insecure, making any possibility of foresight impossible, as every trading partner could be a -heretic- or at least the "heretic", lose all their possessions and every buyer or creditor was then faced with nothing. Not only was dealing with excommunicated persons illegal and punishable by law, but the church also claimed that legal transactions and legal acts of excommunicated persons were invalid. Excommunicated persons - Gregory XI excommunicated up to the seventh generation - were considered exlex under canon law until the end of the i 3rd century, even for the secular forum, which is why the Church also demanded the persecution of persistent excommunicated persons by the Eight, or civil death.

But the cause, the "cause of Christ", was all the more precarious because the clergy, in their madness, greed and insatiability, always took action against the dead as soon as their heresy arose, so that no one was sure of his property or his seat. Moreover, this limitation period was not calculated from the time of the "crime", but from its discovery. -These concomitants of the Vedolization contributed to the decline of the so promising civilization of southern France, and the domination o f trade and commerce passed to England and the Netherlands, where the Inquisition was comparatively unknown, which then again resulted in freedom, wealth, power and progress for those states." (In England, the death penalty for "heresy" was first established in I§Oo.)'-.

There was probably no business in the world in which such enormous wealth, sums and possessions could be "redistributed" and hoarded so quickly and so perfidiously. No wonder the profiteers of the Inquisition, the papacy, the secular and ecclesiastical rulers, the

sten, not least the inquisitors themselves, did everything they could to secure the continued existence of their institute¡ when the clerical executioners pursued their pretensions with an unparalleled thoroughness, as they tracked down every last bit of property, every last pennyii, and did so with inhuman patience.

After the death of a Mrs. Raimonde Barbaira, her relatives had divided among themselves her poor estate, some bedding, clothes, a chest of drawers, a few animals and four sous. However, as the deceased had not yet paid the penance imposed on her by the Inquisition, i.e. pilgrimage and cross-bearing, the Inquisitor demanded forty sous from the heirs on March 7 and a guarantee that they would pay the money around Easter. The Inquisition snooped around for a decade after the possessions of a certain William of Fenasse, a gifted prisoner, and his eight hundred and fifty-nine demands

However, these confiscations were carried out all the more carefully because many inquisitors were not only enriching their church, the papal councils, the bishops, religious orders and the treasury, but also themselves and their servants - the temptation was great, the opportunity too favorable. It was almost impossible for an official to remain honest when persecution had become almost as much a financial speculation as a matter of faith" (Lea). Atvarus Pelagius (Alvaro Pelayo), Franciscan and later Bishop of Silvez in Algarve (southern Portugal), at times also penitentiary at the Curia in Avignon, claims that the inquisitors generally disregarded the threefold division of fines and confiscations prescribed by the pope, pocketing everything themselves, throwing it away for themselves or favoring their relatives, which is confirmed by contemporary documents. The constant lure of loot was the main reason for this.

reason for the centuries-long malaise of this institution, for its terrible permanent, -4

And for their behavior.

Many cities are reluctant, outraged. Since Milan, the refuge of the Cathars, had many of them burnt to the ground, there has been resistance in Florence, Treviso, Bologna, Ge-

nua, especially in Venice. In the south of France, Narbonne, Toulouse and Albi put up resistance. In the north, where Robert le Botigre (!} and Conrad of Marburg raged, even princes rebelled. In StmBurg, Junker Heinz von Müllenheim stabs the Dominican invader Droso, one of Conrad's companions, before he himself is killed a year later.

The following night, ten officials of the Inquisition were murdered in Avignonet.

Towards the middle of the i3. The Inquisitor Pontius von Blaues or von Espira is poisoned, and the Inquisitor Peter von Cadreyta is stoned to death a little later by the fierce population of Urgel.

In Italy, Peter of Verona (Petrus Martyr), the future patron saint of the Spanish invasion, who stirred up an uprising, After just nine months of work in Lombardy and Tuscany, Peter of Verona (Peter Martyr), who was later to become the patron saint of the Spanish invasion, was so famous - in the -Legenda Aurea- the Dominican from a Cathar family figures as one of the outstanding representatives of the contemporary "vita apostolica et evangeli- ca" - that ia5 z Carino da Balsamo split his skull open with a blow in the street. (Afterwards, both become saints, including the repentant murderer, and there are miracles upon miracles)

At the beginning of the - 4 century, there is an uprising against inquisitors in Languedoc. In Trieste, the inquisitor Fabianus is dragged from the pulpit and b e a t e n up. The inquisitor of the Diocese of Breslau, the Dominican Johann von Schwenkenfeld, who flees to Prague, is murdered there on September 8th. September *34-, the Inquisitor of Piedmont Peter of Rtiffia under Gregory XI {I37 to *37 l m Dominican monastery in Susa, the inquisitor Anton Pavo also slain in Piedmont.

It was not uncommon for the Hanciscan and Dominican inquisitors to fight each other. As early as izö6, such a dispute broke out between them in Marseille that Clement lV had an arr security zone introduced between the two territories, a minimum distance of 3oo feet. Then there was so much unrest in Verona that i z9r **Pope** Nicholas lV had to intervene. And still Id2q, Sixtus IV forbade the inquisitors of both orders to sit in judgment of brothers of the other

order.

Occasionally, however, the lords also acted together as papal inquisitors, as i a36 in the border region between France and Flanders, and quite fruitfully - "Many heretics of this sex," according to an old source, "were burned, about fifty within two months; some were buried alive". Even when Bishop Henry I of Bres-

lau -3 - 5 -- >WflIdnitz had fifty "heretics" thrown into the fire at once, both orders cooperated.

It is worth noting that the actual founder of the Inquisition, Gregory IX, was not only close to the Dominicans, was not only a friend of their founder, but was even closer to Francis of Assisi. He also canonized him and entrusted his disciples with the bloody work that they carried out, especially in Provence and southern Italy. As with so many popes, Gregory's unshakeable "trust in God" was praised.

"sincerity and depth of his mystically colored piety", but also calls him, almost in the same breath, "ruthless in his approach to the point of frightening harshness" (Seppelt). But as a rule, the Holy Fathers combine this in the most beautiful way.

CHAPTER 8

EMPEROR FRIEDRICH II. AND POPE INNOCENT IV.

-These orders of the Curia were issued uniformly from **Lyon**, where the threads of the ecclesiastical world now ran together, masterfully woven by Pope lnnozenz N.. Here, this pope indeed showed himself to be a virtuoso ... He was also a transformer of energies, who knew how to extract material from all spiritual *forces* and h o w t o transform the spirituals into temporalities: into political, military and financial means of power. The prerequisite for this was, of course, a completely calculating and unscrupulous use of all existing powers, and if one sees the Church only as a political power, which as such was f a c e d w i t h completely new military-political tasks, then the Genoese undoubtedly appears as one of the most brilliant politicians on the papal throne. For, by dabbling in spiritual matters in a completely unquestioning manner, he truly opened up countless new sources for the Church that had never been tapped before. The way in which Pope Innocent disregarded every misgiving, every merely spiritual sentiment, in order to achieve his sole aim: the destruction of the Hohenstaufen, is absolutely magnificent." - Ernst H. Ksntorowicz'

-Frederick II, however, became m o r e a n d more like the **Rex Tyrannus from** day to day. While he was lying before Parma, he saw the great turmoil in his Italian state, where everything was being whipped up by the Church towards treason. How was Frederick to get to grips with these ghostly, infernal **spirits**! Thanks to the efficiency of pure sons and governors, he remained victorious in the provinces for the time being, but his opponents became increasingly **difficult** to pacify. Florentines, Parmenses, Ferenres, Mantuans and others fought both in the imperial army and on the side of the **Griffins** ... - Ernit H. Kantorowicz-

D IE Ü LU CH T **l'4ACH LYO** N

The College of Cardinals, divided into pro-emperor and anti-emperor cardinals, was deeply divided after Gregory **Hingang.** Neither group achieved the two-thirds majority prescribed by the Third Lateran Council (1*7s) in the decree "Licet de vitanda". The senator Matteo Rosso Orsini, a member of the Third Order of the Minorites and now de facto dictator in Rome, supported by Gregory, locked the cardinals in the Septizonium, the dilapidated palace of Septimus Severus, under grueling bcg)citer appearances. One cardinal had his back torn open while being dragged in; one cardinal, the Englishman Robert of Somercote, died after a month, mocked by the guards in miserable circumstances; some of the gentlemen fell seriously ill; all of them had to endure many evils, including the stench of the guards' excrement - the first conclave in history.

After 6o days but on zy. OctobeF **'°4*.** the world received a new pope, the Milanese nobleman Goffredo da Castiglione, who had established the Inquisition as legate in his native city in zzz8.

He called himself Coelestine IV, fell ill suddenly, probably as a result of the conclave, and died after two weeks, on io. November without being consecrated, without insignia, without seal, without a single official act, on the excommunication of Senator Orsini and his henchmen. According to the -Gesta Treverorum-, the pope, who in fact was hardly a pope in any way, ended up as such {cf. V 477 f.!), "by poison. Therefore the cardinals left the holy church many days without a leader and, as it were, desolate, as they feared an imminent end."

Some of them fled to Anagni. Giovanni Colonna, head of the pro-imperial Purple Party, was incarcerated by the senator *and* his city castle razed. Frederick released the captured Cardinal Otto of St. Nicholas in the spring of * ^4°. but retained
Jakob von Palestrina, whom he particularly detested, in Hatt. Thus there was no papal election. France threatened to go it alone. The Romans, together with some neighboring cities, attacked the imperial troops in the Canipagna. Frederick pillaged the surroundings of Rome, devastated Âcke5 vineyards, advanced on the city in MltÌ*45 lTlit with a strong force
and circled them completely. But it was only when he saw Jacob and other
Cardinals, after eighteen months of sedisva- cance on June zy. June i zą3 in Anagni, the Genoese Sinibaldo Fieschi from the family of the Counts of Lavagna.

Innocent lV. (zzhj-rzyą), a brilliant jurist who had studied in Bologna and then taught there, became cardinal, vice-chancellor of the Roman Church and zz3ş (until IIĄO) rector of the Margraviate of Ancona, whose reincorporation into the empire drove the governor out. Originally rather pro-imperial - several members of the family were declared Ghibellines {a term which, in contrast to Guelphs, only gained importance in Italian politics in the early i3rd century. He soon led the final battle against Frederick II, who, he said, had lost a friend in him as a cardinal and an enemy in the pope.

Of course, the fourth Innocent, like the previous one, considered himself superior in dignity to all kings and emperors and pursued a highly unscrupulous policy in order to illustrate this de facto. Like so many Holy Fathers, he favored his clan and indulged in "unprecedentedly wealthy" {KeÍly). The bishop of Reggio, Guisolus de
Albriconibus had to resign i z43 because William de Foliano, who was also elected there, was also a papal relative.
Innocent Bishop Bernard Vicius de Scotis gave the bishopric of Parma to Albert of San Vitale, a son of his sister Maiga- reta. Favorite nepote Ottobuono Fieschi became a cardinal and later a bishop.

pope as Hadrian V, meaning that the Fieschi provided two popes in two decades.

Frederick, who thought the new pontiff - "always well-disposed towards us in word and deed", wrote eq, although the name "lnnozenz" alone could have made him sceptical - was a representative of the peace party in the College of Cardinals and had therefore had thanksgiving services celebrated in the Sicilian Empire, was gradually forced to recognize his error. If his last papal enemy became his worst enemy in many respects, he became embroiled in such an escalating conflict that the battle between the Empire and the Sacerdotium, which had flared up since the Investiture Controversy, now reached a climax.

While they were still arguing about the old central issues, the Lombard question and the restitution of certain areas of the Papal States, the fanatical opponent of the emperor Cardinal Rainer Capocci, a fervent admirer of St. Francis, whom he had covered, and - har- monizes well here - an obsessive daredevil at the same time, sparked a rebellion in the previously imperial Viterbo. It was the cardinal's home town.

And when he took it by hand on September 8 - -4 3 - not the fort still held by the emperor's troops - and this

After Viterbo had been fighting in vain for many weeks, it was none other than the Pope who supported the defenders with money and warriors. And none other than Cardinal Rainer had so incited the Viterbese that they largely massacred the completely exhausted imperial castle garrison when they withdrew, although they had sworn to withdraw freely.

Nevertheless, negotiations continued, with the emperor crawling to the cross, confessing his sin against the church, promising the pope not only penance, fasting and alms, but also soldiers, the evacuation of the Papal States, the return of conquered places, prisoners and more. -He gave up the entire gain of five years of war and paid for his retreat to his original position with unconditional submission to the ecclesiastical punitive power of the Church" (Haller).

Frederick, who received virtually nothing for all his renunciations, certainly had ulterior motives. But Innocent, too

She was smooth and ice-cold like hardly anyone else, and he was more dangerous. Because he went all out¡ he wanted to ruin his opponent at any cost, wanted to destroy him, even physically and personally, totally.

Thus a meeting initiated by the emperor did not take place. He received Frederick's messengers, sent envoys, Emperor Balduin, Count Raimund, caused delays and ordered galleys from Genoa for his escape through a cousin. In order to escape any direct threat, an enclosure similar to Gregory's time, and for the sake of a secure base of operations, he hurried from Sutri to Civitavecchia in the summer of i-44 at night and in disguise with a small entourage, including three of his cousins; then with ships in readiness to Genoa, his first city, and from there in late fall and winter on to Lyon, still an imperial territory but already within the sphere of influence of the French king, who, however, refused the request for help. In any case, an extremely important decision, an Arr Avignon before Avignon. And it would soon become clear that the curial business also functioned far from Rome, that Innocent IYi had enough power from the Rhöne to resist his enemy, even to finally crush and destroy the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

Dxs Kox z i L FROM LvONt
THE LIES OF THE CARD I NA LS U N D
T H **E SET2ING** OF **THE** Czisxn

First of all, on January 3, the pope reconvened the First Council of Lyons on the o YES --'s, resuming Gregory IX's (p. z¢q f.} council plan, which had been brutally prevented by Frederick four years earlier, and it convened two days later. With at most iyo bishops meagerly attended, most came from the Romance countries, five from England, two from Germany (from Liège and

Prague); no one appeared from Hungary, Poland or the Baltic countries. And many also showered the money-loving Pope with gifts - he is said to have discreetly stated that it could have been more; after all, the debts incurred at home allegedly amounted to ooo pounds in capital and just as much in accrued interest.

Of the main issues addressed by the Council according to papal guidelines - internal church reform (including the administration of assets), the schism of the Greeks, the recovery of the Holy See, protection against renewed Mongol invasions -, the dominant theme at all three sessions was the "business between the Church and the emperor", the "persecutio" by the monarch, who had been summoned informally by the pope in a sermon, but had not come because he could not appear as a defendant before a court of clerics hostile to him.

Frederick had ravaged the land around Viterbo for two weeks only a short time before, perhaps even slightly violating curial territory. However, Cardinal Rainer of Viterbo, the wild, quarrelsome priest who wanted nothing but war, war with the emperor at all costs, turned more casual forays and rather trivial t)raids into downright acts of state, terrible breaches of pact. He sent out hateful, excessively exaggerated reports to Innocent, to the council fathers in Lyon, pamphlets spewing poison and bile, betraying Gregory's predecessors of the Great School, in which the emperor was turned into a terrifying figure, systematically into the forerunner of the Antichrist, if not the Antichiist himself, a monster, a Moloch of Rainer Capocci's grace. The cardinal i n c o r p o r a t e d all the apocalyptic terror grimaces, horror visions and prophecies of doom into his brazen distortions, and all the more efficiently as the Antichrist w a s expected to arrive in the year iz6o.

He also spared no lies, not even the most ludicrous ones; he claimed that in the emperor's Saracen colonies, Christian women and girls were preferably pushed in front of the altars, that Frederick had poisoned his three wives. He was zealous and claimed that the Hohenstaufen was fighting against the Lord with the

... that he sits in the temple of the Lord "like the Lord himself", as if he were God himself, that he "slaughters people like lambs" {which was true), that he is "doggier than Herod, crueler than Nero, meaner than Julian". .. -, eq - the prince of tyranny, the inverter of ecclesiastical faith and cult, the destroyer of statutes, the master of cruelty, the transformer of times, the confuser of the earth and hammer of the whole earth ... Have no pity on the nefarious one! Throw him to the ground before the face of kings, that they may see him and fear to follow him in action! Cast him out of the sanctuary of God, that he may no longer rule over the Christian people! Destroy the name and body, 5proB and seed of this Babylonian! May mercy forget him ...!"

Those gathered in Lyon, to whom these furious statements were intended, **were** mostly receptive, especially as they knew how welcome all this would be to the pope. Meanwhile, Frederick sent new peace proposals to the Rhöne, where Thaddeus of Suessa, his grand court judge, defended him fearlessly and skillfully, but without any hope of success. The emperor was, as was clear from the outset, condemned as guilty by the majority, accused of perjury, sacrilege, breach of the peace and "heresy" and declared deposed on July ty. July i was declared deposed
{privans ipsum omni honore et imperio et aliis regnis suis: MGH Const. z, i 6). While the priests extinguished their torches on the stone floor, Thaddeus tearfully beat his chest and left the cathedral with his companions, the sound of the prelates' tedeum in his ears.

Frederick's subjects were also released from the oath of allegiance and the German grandees were urged to elect a new king, but without a vote being held at the time, which was widely criticized. Innocent decided like an unrestricted sovereign, and the synodal members complied. There was hardly any actual evidence for the papal visits, and above all, as Johannes Halter broadly points out, there was no proof of culpable action, the papal sentence did not meet the requirements of a judicial decision.

judgment in any respect - indeed, we may ask whether a document of similar importance has ever been written in such a superficial, not to say frivolous, manner.

However, the papal verdict was not only a miscarriage of justice, it was also a declaration of war and more than that. Rome had thus initiated the final battle between the Pope and the Emperor. It was no longer just a question of securing the Papal States, but of eliminating Frederick and his house altogether. It was the beginning of the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

We I PÃPSTLI CHR Gz s **ENKÓN IGE** Ix DEUTS CH LAND ANd A NEW **CITIZEN CRItE**

Fatal for Frederick and a stroke of luck for the pope: the incipient turnaround in the German church. It did not stand united to the emperor as it had done under Gregory IX, but rather the three most prominent priests dropped out, first and foremost the domineering Mainz Siegfried III von Eppstein, nephew of his predecessor - Hans Eppstein brought four archbishops to the See of Mainz in a century. Siegfried, who had been the placeholder since ri3o, was given the imperial abbey of Lorsch by the emperor and became

••37. ale mau before setting off for Itaĺia deu minors

Conrad IV, who was elected German king and future emperor in Vienna, was appointed procurator imperit (Reiclisvcrweser). iz z, however, the man from Mainz switched to the anti-Staufer camp out of pure territorial political calculation.

Of course, as was so often the case, almost all German princes switched fronts in that decade, some several times, and did not regret it. For like many of his predecessors, Prince Innocent IV was also known for his bribes, for those involving hard cash, for more discreet methods of corruption, the bestowal of spiritual graces, annates, prelatures, abbeys and bishoprics.

-Innozenn has uribedeiiklich in this never zti appearing bag

and handed out dispensations, awards and entitlements with full hands wherever there was a need to reward services rendered or to secure future ones.i' Relatives of the spiritual lords were also given appropriate consideration.

The metropolitan of Mainz, however, was allowed to receive double the tax from all the benefices of his diocese for five years. And now he joined the side of Conrad of Hochstaden, who had already switched to the papal party in i z3q, one year after his elevation to the chair of Cologne. Both archbishops banished the emperor and scorched and burned the Wetrerau, his territory. And third in the pious alliance was Arnold II of Trieb, who succeeded his uncle Theoderic.

The three most noble church princes of the empire, the "coronation bishops", had thus passed over to Innocent, who immediately used them to overthrow Germany by dividing and displacing the clergy loyal to the Hohenstaufen down to the lowest, by far the largest part pro-Staufer, by simply demoting canons loyal to the emperor and removing bishops where possible. There were dozens of canons involved in such processes, from Brixen to Bremen, from injustice to Prague.

More quickly than expected, after the Council of Lyon, the German Church fell back into the hands of the pope, who forbade any free election of the clergy, who not only appointed the bishops but also controlled the appointment of the lower clergy, whereby money, simony, played an enormous role. In general: - no canonical commandment from which Innocent IV did not grant dispensation, no ecclesiastical law that he did not circumvent, no ecclesiastical offense that he did not punish his own if it seemed useful to him for the fight against the - or more precisely: the Hohenstaufen. In order to recruit followers, the pope began to hand out church property like a sovereign prince would his lords: anyone who rendered him a service received an order - "payment order" one might say - for the first completed prelature or benefice that became vacant, regardless of the country in which it was located. Thus, Spaniards in England and Germany were able to establish a church or, above all, its income.

The majority of the benefices abroad received the Italians that the pope needed for the immediate warfare against the emperor himself. In many cases, these Italians never saw their parishes, as it was only the income that mattered, and the accumulation of benefices, which had always been strictly contrary to canonical statutes, now became one of the pope's preferred means of creating supporters or chaining himself to them. The fifths, tenths, twentieths, which the pope wrote out, had no end ..." (Kantorowicz}-

All of this, however, drove, as in Italy, so also in Germany, once again

into a civil war that lasted for years. The cities in particular - Mainz, *Yrnnkîun,* Friedberg, Wetzlap GeÍnhauscn, especially Worms, which had its own navy - fought against the Rhenish bishops on the side of the Staufeq, who in return granted them civil liberties, tax relief, etc., and Konrad IY even turned the hunt for Jews into money by extorting large sums for their protection or ransom. On the other hand, the high nobility in particular, as was customary in Casus belli, used this for their personal enrichment, for dirty war profits, or rather: to expand their sovereignty, to consolidate and consolidate their possessions.

The misery continued to be accompanied by hefty journalistic campaigns, in which Innocent p r o c l a i m e d everywhere - on Sundays and holidays, where the people gathered, at processions, at markets - the punishments, the decree of deposition, the banns he hurled at Frederick, the evil enemy, the persecutor of the faith, together with his followers. His propagandists, above a l l the mendicants sent out in sheep, painted the emperor's image black in black, partly from their own pious ingenuity, but partly and preferably with the help of the foaming pamphlets of Cardinal Rainer Capocci of Viterbo. And after every sermon, they called on the crowd to take up the creed against Frederick, which lnnozenz granted a forty- to fifty-day reprieve just for listening to an imperial sermon on the cross.

In particular, the business of the Holy Father of the Legnt

Philip Montana, a man who in many ways reminded us of Cardinal Capocci. Like the latter, he was a sincere devotee of St. Francis and a tough warrior at the same time; he was also a drunkard who had two children, a son and a daughter, and who spurned episcopal consecration even after his elevation to the arch-seat of Ravenna. Philipp Fontana now introduced the Thuringian Landgrave Heinrich Raspe - still Iz3q for his
banned from the Staufer loyalty, still i-4* *given* by the Emperor, who was closely related to him, the office and title of Imperial Procurator, but now
favored by the pope - as an anti-king.

Henry came from a house known for its particular power and zealous promotion of the Inquisition, especially that of Conrad of Marburg, and for its devout ecclesiasticism. Thus, the landgrave was executed on zz. May iaJ6 in Veitshtichheim near Würzburg by a small circle of prelates, including the metropolitans of Mainz and Cologne, on the instructions of the pope, who paid the initially reluctant king zy ooo marks of silver for accepting the crown, in the presence of his legal representative as an anti-Staufer counter-king - rex clericorum, the cleric king, as it was mocked from the outset, whereupon Innocent also made considerable financial contributions to continue the war.

Apart from the prelars, only a few counts and lords stood on the side of the ecclesiastical outrage, but not a single contemporary German prince, none of whom supported Frederick, almost a stranger to them, an Italian emperor Henry Raspe but the clerical king, rejected even the majority of the clergy. The legate therefore imposed severe ecclesiastical punishments on a number of abbots and more than a dozen bishops.

Just one month after the election. " >7- June i -4 , Innocent IV, called for a crusade against Frederick, woki he stopped the propaganda for the Holy Land by a secret order, the
He strictly forbade the preaching of the liberation of the holy cities and had older crusade vows transformed into vows to fight the emperor. And this despite the fact that Louis the Saint had already prepared his traditional, old-style crusade.

On }. August -4, Conrad was defeated in the "Battle of the Kings" near Frankfurt and was only just able to escape behind the city wall, although this was only possible through treachery.
He had bought the Swabian counts of Wirtemberg and Grüningen from Lyon by promising them the duchy as well as considerable sums of money; 6ooo marks; so the lords went over to the enemy with their troops during the battle and brought him victory. Of course, curial capital was also used to recruit the opposing king and his successor for further wars, the soldiers were equipped and the entire campaign against the Hohenstaufen dynasty in Germany was won primarily with money. Innocent is said to have invested larger and larger sums, i y ooo, a ooo, 5o ooo marks, but Fried- riChS Leure occasionally attacked and robbed those who brought him the money.'°

However, Heinrich Raspe was not able to enjoy his good fortune for long. He penetrated as far as Swabia, the center of Hohenstaufen, but had to break off the siege of Ulm in February without success. Seriously ill, he returned to Thuringia where, after a reign of only nine months, he was the last male representative of the Thuringian landgraves to die on iö. He died at Wartburg Castle on February I*47. However, a new papal legate soon continued the old game with another clerical king, although it should not be forgotten that the shepherds of the souls also commanded troops and unelected castles at the time and that the Vicar of Christ sought to bring about military succession from them, as from vassals, even by force if necessary.

On October 3, i*47 , a committee of divine servants, including the archbishops of Triet, Mainz, Cologne and Bremen, once again elected a successor for Heinrich Raspe in the Rhenish Worririgen.
The eighteen-year-old Count William II of Holland;
particularly promoted by the spiritus rector of the election, Wilhelm on i. November --4 in Aachen, crowning Archbishop of Cologne Konrad von Hochstaderi {izj8-iz6i), from the family of the Counts of Are, one of the most powerful Germans.

Conrad's entire episcopate was characterized by territorial conflicts.

tions: Battles with his regional, Westphalian and Rhenish opponents, his own diocesans, feud after feud, feuds with Limburg, Sayn, Brabant, Jülich, Bavaria, with Bishop Simon of Paderborn. Indeed, the man of God, who had elected William of Holland a few years earlier and crowned him in Aachen, made an attempt on his life because he had become too uncomfortable and too independent. In January Izy5 he had the house in Neuss, where William and the papal legal were staying, set on fire, and both narrowly escaped the assassination attempt. Only recently, in October i z_5 a, the king had escaped an attack in Koblenz, to which many of his entourage succumbed. At the time, William sued the Archbishop of TrieE as the instigator, but the Archbishop of Cologne stood up for him. And this fierce warrior, buried among his peers in Cologne Cathedral, was at times the Pope's legate, the Pope's instrument,
as well as the counter-king tool of Ponrifex, who this time sacrificed 3 ooo marks for noble deeds, what he did to eradicate the Staufer brood.

Among such Christian brothers, William was only able to consolidate his position on the Lower Rhine with difficulty, only winning over cities loyal to the Hohenstaufen here and there, attracting Uberläufeq allies with imperial property and promises of money, or plundering and burning down villages, monasteries and possessions belonging to his opponent. His forces were not sufficient for decisive action, and certainly not those of his opponent. It was only after the emperor's death and Conrad IV's departure to Italy, to look ahead briefly, that William, supported by papal gold, was able to record some successes. But, like Conrad, he also died early and unexpectedly. At the age of a8, on k8.)anuar I z5ö, he sank unrecognized in a swamp near Alkmaar on a winter campaign against the Western Meadows, together with his horse."

PARMA - FR IEDRICH S IL LARGEST PUBLISHING HOUSE

The civil war raged worse in Italy than in Germany, where the opposing kings played no role, but the final battle between the emperor and the pope had to be decided. -And so there was an extremely fierce war in those times, which lasted for many years; and one could neither plow nor sow, nor harvest, nor cultivate vines, nor pick grapes, nor live in the valleys. This was particularly the case in Parma, Reggio, Modena and Cremona." In addition, highway robbers, thieves and looters were rampant, who "captured people and threw them into prison so that they could buy their freedom for money, and drove the oxen away to be eaten or sold. And if they did not buy them off, they hung them up by their hands and feet, tore out their teeth and put kills in their mouths in order to force them to buy them off more quickly - which was more disgusting and more frightening for them than death itself" {Sa Limbene of Parma).'*

Frederick had recently armed himself strongly. Cities could be held,

were conquered, Florence fell to the emperor and finally the long-fought-for Viterbo. Milan, on the other hand, was defended by the papal legate Gregory of Montelongo, later Patriarch of Aquileia, in the fall of *-45, despite a pincer attack in the

North and South at the same time could not have been taken. - For he [the papal legate] was a very good man and experienced in war, and possessed a book on the art and artifices of warfare; he knew how to fight battles and wars and was well acquainted with all stratagems and intrigues. He knew when to keep calm, when to break out warmly against the enemy, after which Salimbene followed up with many biblical passages on the right knowledge of the moment and the so-called art of war.

At the end of June• *47 , the imperial city of Parma, which was of great strategic importance, was also lost to the Guelphs. Chased out of Parma by Pope

relatives regained the city, whereupon the Guelphs of almost all of

Italy rose up, and all of Frederick's personal efforts, no matter how great, to save Parma, through Gregory of Montelongo, as well as his own, were exhausted.

who defended as boldly as he did trickily, were unsuccessful. This may have increased the Hohenstaufen's rage. He had them drowned, hanged and beheaded. -The emperor - a s the Franciscan Salimbene, who himself came from Parma's wealthy bourgeois upper class, reports in his extensive -Cronica-, which is considered a historical source of the first rank, -appeared every morning with his own at the gravel bed of the Parma to meet three or four or more Parmese, Modenese or Reggianet; who belonged to the party of the Church and whom he held captive, as it seemed good to him, to have them beheaded before the eyes of the Parmese in the city, so that he might thereby cause them affliction."

During a surprise attack by the besieged, however, Friedrich a heavy lip.

At the beginning of the winter, he h a d a camp city built outside Parma, which he called "Victoria" in anticipation of his victory. After the capture of Parma, the old city was to disappear completely and only Victoria was to flourish and prosper. But on i8. February••4 , when the camp was destroyed by various
exposed to several parts of the army, Frederick himself as usual on the]agd (cf. V z8 ff.), the Parmenset, informed of the tempting situation by spies, made first a successful mock attack, then a successful real attack, set fire to Victoria, slaughtered fifteen hundred imperial troops, including Grand Court Judge Thaddeus of Suessa and other prominent figures, took three thousand people prisoner and looted the entire state treasury, leaving Frederick in a remarkable shortage of money.

This has been called the worst defeat of his life. But it was not only a considerable loss of men, of the most valuable war material and of money, it was also an immense loss of prestige in the world.

" . .. THE UNAPPROACHABLE ATTITUDE "

Frederick now slipped into the role of defender. Rebels and renegades rose up throughout Italy, insurrections, theaters of war and battles multiplied, the pope's riots took effect and a struggle of all against all began that would last for decades.

Some who had only recently submitted to the monarch fell away again, such as Margrave Boniface of Montferrat, who conquered Turin but was thrown out of the city by the emperor's grandson Frederick. The emperor's son, Count Richard of Thcate, defeated a papal army at Interamma; another under the Legitimate Bishop Marcellin of Arezzo was destroyed south of Ancona, four thousand popes fell by the wayside. Violent *$ünc took* place in Tuscany, street battles raged in Florence. Italy was inflamed by the Church, treachery was spun all around. The emperor struggled for his rule, which became a reign of terror, the Rex Tyrannus defended himself. His mistrust, his severity, his reprisals, his cruelty grew.

Frederick 11 was certainly capable of almost any harshness even earlier - even if his perhaps best biographer Ernst H. Kantorowicz credits him with a never senseless raging and judging, even praises the proud free Caesar gesture, the "unapproachably noble attitude" (what does that mean at all with the attitude that we constantly see adopted by the nobility! . the composure, the form of the Roman Christian Caesar." Where was all of this when he kicked your Saracen king in the side with his spur before hanging him and his sons? When he put his own son in his terrible southern Italian dungeons for years and let him crepe in them?

He systematically exiled suspects in large numbers and took hostages, who, imprisoned in his Apulian dungeons, were liquidated at the slightest provocation. Anyone who showed papal letters was deprived of hands and feet, and anyone who carried weapons as a non-imperial was summarily hanged. Torture, hitherto fairly limited in the Sicilian Empire, was introduced. Etneii suspicious sicili-

The emperor sentenced the Franciscan procurator to eighteen different tortures. He had a suspected nobleman sunk into the sea with a millstone around his neck; Bishop Marcellin of Arezzo was first imprisoned and then hanged, which caused great excitement and inspired Cardinal Rainer Capocci, shortly before he himself died, to create truly robbing atrocity tales, which were then followed by miracle after miracle through the bishop's leg. Friedrich had Tuscan Guelferi, who soon surrendered, partly hanged, partly blinded and mutilated and drowned in the sea, a hundred conspirators publicly beheaded in Reggio by King Enzio and, through him, three hundred Mantuans and Ferrarese, who wanted to bring food to the half-starved Parmenese, hanged on both sides of the Po.'-.

Nevertheless, he did not get Parma. And like Parma, like Milan, Rome, courted by Frederick, remained loyal to Innocent. And the good Holy Father would have gladly spared the country all the bloody actions for his life with a single bloody action - the assassination of the emperor.

M O RDANS CH LAGES ON THE C ISER AND UNHEALTHY SAPSTJ U BE L ABOUT ITS SOUND

Whether the plan can be traced back to Innocent alone cannot be proven, but he was intensively involved and an outstanding conspirator. The bloody plan, the attempt on Frederick's life, was "instigated by the pope" {Kantorowicz), "instigated by the pope" {Lexikon des Mittelalters).

The first hint of the widespread conspiracy came in September 45 from the monastery of Fontevivo, a nice name given the circumstances, with the discovery of a number of conspira-
tive papers on the planned liquidation of the Emperor and King Enzio of Sardinia, Frederick's favorite son {out of wedlock), who was primarily active as an army commander in Italy. The monastery

Fontevivo was located near Parma, and the following winter the other traces also pointed to Parma, more precisely to the clan of Inno-

The instigator of the revolt, which was led by some of the highest dignitaries6 provincial governors and Frederick's closest confidants, including the Pope of Parma, Tibald FrariziSkus, was Ber- nardo Orlando di Rossi, the Pope's brother-in-law; the project was supported by the cardinals who remained in Italy. But in the At the last moment, at the end of March - 46, one day before the plot was to be carried out at a banquet in Grosseto on the southern edge of Tuscany, Frederick was warned by a courier of Count Richard of Caserta,
of his son-in-law. The %delsfiihrer were able to stay in the imperial castle of Capaccio for another three months, after which Frederick, in a spirit of scfileuiii *revenge,* had them terribly *mutilated,* displayed everywhere and killed with martial torture.

The assassins, as he himself informed Alfonso, the eldest son of Ferdinand flI of Castile and later German king, were robbed of their eyes, dragged across the ground on horses' tails, hung up, sewn into leather sacks with poisonous snakes, thrown into the sea, even thrown into the fire. Anyone related to the conspirators, even to the fourth or fifth degree, was to be blinded and burned. As a result, two sisters of a Mr. Perri were burned in Naples along with others. Only Tibald Francis, generally regarded as the head of the rebels, was not to die, but was to be dragged through the world with his eyes torn open and mutilated, led before nations and princes, with a papal bull discovered among the outlaws pinned to his forehead to signal t o everyone at once the inspirer of the plot.

Thus "preserved", writes the Emperor on *z S.* A ' J 46 his Son Enzio, -Our innocence the Lord before their hands-.

Now Frederick II's innocence repeatedly saved him from any hands. Cases of gross cruelty are not so rarely handed down. In cases of lèse majesté, he himself confessed, he only h a d the accused "punished to death after many severe tortures", especially as the innocent prince had to be punished with downright cruelty.

gustinian theo-logic convinced way it was *-a **sign** of the mil- de to be cruel in punishing such crimes-.*

Innocent N. never denied his complicity, but rather covered up ringleaders who had escaped to Rome. Nor was he the only pope closely involved in a large-scale murder plot. Gregory XIII, who bought a county and a duchy for his -natural- progenitor Giaeomo ("His life as pope remained simple and worthy": Lexikon für Theologic und Kirche), who publicly praised and celebrated the bloodbath of the Banholomew Night in Rome, he also approved the plan to assassinate Queen Elizabeth I of England and personally supported it - "all -simple and worthy".

the Friedrich ß. was the extensive action of March
--46 was not the only attempt on his life. Just a few years later, his personal physician also attempted a poisoning and was hanged. And this insidious project also led to the Pope via Parma. The personal physician who had been captured in Parma and was held in high esteem by Frederick, had been triggered by him, but had previously been persuaded by the papal legate there to eliminate the emperor. It is unclear and unproven whether Petrus de Vinea, Frederick's most influential advisor and the author of many of the emperor's brilliant letters and manifestos, whose anti-papal tendencies continued to have a strong impact right up to the time of the Reformation and the Enlightenment, had anything to do with the assassination attempt. The monarch had Peter arrested in February iz4 q, imprisoned in the dungeons of the Imperial Castle
San Miniato and at the end of April for treason and corruption.
blindness. He may have been in contact with the pope, and he may have died by suicide, as some sources report, by burying his head in the dungeon wall. However, in the case of the assassination attempt by the imperial personal physician, the papal curia was clearly the perpetrator; t h e r e is no whitewashing and no excuse" (Heinrich).

-Look, the Lord Pope-, wrote Frederick himself, -whom the empire under my great predecessors raised out of nothing and made rich, is seeking to rilify the same empire and with the Lnn-

to prepare the downfall of the tottering empire." He openly accused Innocent of having "bought conspirators for Our assassination" for lavish pay in the heart of Our court, while the papal side spread the word that the emperor had planned the pope's assassination.

In the spring of i z4 g, however, Frederick once again proclaimed in a manifesto to the kings and peoples -the most terrible, unheard-of perfidy in the world: -Kürziirh namely - We *say* it
full of consternation, and still the news **makes Us** dismayed - this priest; this great **guardian;** the peaceable ruler of Our faith, not satisfied with the countless attacks and dishonorable incitements with which he; as all the world sees, publicly opposes Us everywhere beyond the rules of his profession, even against God in word and deed, has tried - what a disgrace! - to destroy Our life through secret plots. And with Our personal physician, who was imprisoned in Parma at the time, he inhumanly and nefariously arranged through his legate, who acted as mediator in such a negotiation, that he would give Us poison to drink in the form of a healing potion after his return ... See now, then, how Our dearest Father loves Us! see the laudable zeal and care of the Shepherd! see the worthy works of the Prince of Priests!"'-

° . .. T H E M ATTER OF **GOD** °

In the meantime, the Pope's planned major attack in spring
--4* collapsed even before it had really begun. From Sicily, where papal legates and troops should have entered, up to the north, not only the emperor was awaited, but
the Hohenstaufen dynasty in general, the "brood of vipers", for their rule. But after the failed assassination attempt, the intended uprising did not take place, apart from a bloodily repulsed advance by Cardinal Rainer with a papal army into the Margraviate of Ancona.

Frederick's strength seemed to grow in the face of danger. He called on King Enzio to manfully and zealously suppress the "Lombard rebellions". And he also wanted to rush to Italy "to crush the remnants of Our rebels with the relentless hammer of Our power". But although various events worked to his advantage, the situation did not seem so favorable to him and he repeatedly sought reconciliation with the pope, which the latter obviously did not even think about. For some time, he had vigorously contradicted rumors of peace and demanded troop contingents from the English bishops, apparently soldiers from French prelates as well. In L/On he had an army equipped i-'7 to operate in Italy under Cardinal Octavian Ubaldini. All around, he stirred up rebellion and sent out legals to victoriously accomplish -the cause of God-, that is, to send the Hohenstaufen and everything stautic to hell forever, Frederick, the disturber of the peace, the -unrestrained prince of pestilence", the -precursor of the anti-Christ, wilder than any wild deep more herodic than Herod-.'-.

But things weren't going so smoothly for izyo God-.

A cross - this time with the French King Louis IX. the Saint at the head - had been miserably lost, the kingdom of Sicily, whatever Innocent had offered and mustered there in terms of the clergy and the secular, had by no means been won, nor had the clergy, who were supposedly so abominably maltreated there, defected. Frederick's army made progress in northern Italy. And in Germany, where devastating plundering campaigns raged along the Rhine, Conrad fVi ruined the possessions of the bishops of Strafiburg and Speyer Mainz, and in August iayo also defeated his new counter-king, Count William of Hol- land.

But before the year was out, a feverish intestinal infection took the emperor by surprise while he was hunting in Apulia, near Lucera. He was taken to Castel Fiorentino, probably never visited by him before, now mentioned in the sources for the first time, and after a short illness Frederick II died here on December 13, I xyo, surrounded by a few loyal followers; among them his eighteen-year-old

his illegitimate son Manked, probably the closest of his sons at the time, his son-in-law Richard of Caserta, his old friend Archbishop Berard of Palermo, whom he had had specially added to the family, as well as a number of notaries from Grofihofrichteg and his physician John of Procida.

In Palermo Cathedral, Frederick was finally laid to rest alongside Roger II and his parents Henry VI and Constance - his last resting place, as is often thought. The ecclesiastical chronicler Salimbene wrote that the former emperor could not be laid to rest "on account of the horrible stench which his corpse emitted - a stench as intolerable as that of maggots, as he claims in the a. Book of Maccabees, chapter g, that maggots grew from the cursed body and he sold with great pain, that whole pieces fell from his body and stank so badly that no one could stay away from the stench- -
• Mort für Wort- has been fulfilled -at Friedrich-.

But the clergy defamed him to death throughout the centuries. And after the monk Salimbene had vilified the deceased for pages, a prince who once even interceded for him in a letter to his general of the order, he concluded characteristically: -"And - to make a long story short - if he had been a good Catholic ..., he would have had few equals among the rulers of the world."

It is interesting that the deceased quite naturally assumed the principle of succession when he appointed his son Conrad as heir to the empire and the Sicilian kingdom. Should he die without sons, Carl Otto Heinrich would rule, then Manfred.

King Konrad almost followed his father to his death. For when he wanted to settle a conflict between the loyal citizens and their chief shepherd in Regensburg, the bishop had an assassination attempt made on the king, who was sleeping in the monastery of St. Emmeram on the night of December. The king, who was sleeping in the monastery of St. Em- meram on the night of December, was assassinated by the bishop and only escaped by a stroke of luck, while two of his confidants were killed and three were dragged away prisoner.

Two dead Staufers in two weeks - too much of the divine
Proof of grace. The Pope mufites himself with the receipt of his

The fact that they were content with their main enemy was reason enough for everyone to rejoice. -Let the heavens rejoice and the earth shout for joy", rejoiced en -O day of joy and tremendous gladness! O welcome death, desired death!- For now the original rhetorician saw cq, "the dreadful storm - immediately
"transformed into a gentle dew wind", he saw Sicily, the "exalted kingdom", suddenly "escaped from hard bondage", shook off Pharaoh's yoke, survived Nero's torture ... - Yes, now it was his turn, now he wanted to seize the reign himself with starter military power if necessary. He threatened to expel the old others who stretched out their predatory hands for the precious booty.

This was particularly true of Conrad IV.

The emperor's spro8 from his marriage to lsabdla of Brienne, heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem {p. zaq), had spent the first years of his life in the Sicilian empire. In February i z jy, at the age of nine, he was elected German king and future emperor in Vienna, confirmed a few months later in Speyer by other princes who were not present in Vienna, but remained uncrowned here too. From then on, he held the title "in Romaiiorum regem electus".

Selt I*4 *4> Conrad had fought for the preservation of the Hohenstaufen kingship in the German civil war against the papal party and its
fought against opposing kings. However, as soon as his position became weaker after Frederick's death, he decided without hesitation to at least save for himself the Sicilian kingdom left to him in his will, which was now shaken by serious upheavals. And when he had sold or s e i z e d enough of his household and imperial property to rearm himself and made Duke Otto II of Bavaria his secret representative in Germany, he s e t off for Italy in October i z§ x.

The Pope had also made his way there six months earlier, ending his seven-year exile in Lyon. He had t r a v e l e d down the Rhine via Marseille on roads specially repaired for him to Genoa, his hometown, where he attended the wedding of a nephew in May with his cardinals and 8o bishops.

The pope attended a feast such as has not been celebrated anywhere else in our days, both in terms o f the participants and the food served, so that they would have caused the astonishment of the Queen of Sheba if she had seen them.) t)he Pope came to Perugia via Milan at the beginning of November, where he had resided for a year and a half because Rome had become too insecure; too independent.

But since Innocent IV desired nothing more in heaven and on earth than the complete annihilation of the Hohenstaufen on both sides of the Alps, since he became ever more doggedly involved in the great final battle, everything else received only his reduced attention, even the crusade of King Louis IX, to which the saint devoted six years (I 2.¢ --*54) o f his life.'-.

9TH CAPITE L

END OF THE STAUFER, RISE OF THE ANJOU

-After Frederick II's death, the hatred and fear of the Staufer's "brood of vipers" had led to the elimination and downright extinction of this sex, which had risen higher than any other. No German dynasty came to an end like the Hohenstaufen; in poverty and distress, in prison, on the scaffold and on the gallows ... Innocent IV and Alexander IV had even forbidden the German princes to elect a member of this dynasty to the throne *once again*, and they even conferred this with a 'negative legitimacy'. - Walter Koch'

• France had to stand up with good and blood to conquer the Sicilian kingdom for the Pope, so above all the king had to be won over, he had to be convinced that there was a just cause, a matter of Christian faith - johannes Haller-

In the search for a ruthless king for the island, Rome came across *Charles* ro- *-i , brother of Louis the Saint ... Charles was a ruthless tyrant who literally pillaged Sicily. Italy threatened to become a French protectorate. The French now set the tone everywhere. They dominated the administration of the Church. A number of popes of this period were French, one of whom elevated Charles to Roman senator. - Charles Kupisch'

"His olive-colored face was stern and **hard;** his gaze dark and terrifying. A restless spirit lived in this rough nature, he lamented the fact that sleep shortens the deeds of men. He almost never laughed. He possessed the old qualities which, without exception, enable an ambitious warrior to be a conqueror and tyrant, to such an extent that he presented himself as the most suitable **tool** for the intentions of the popes." - Ferdinand Gregotovius*

KÓNIG LU DWI G DER HE I LI GE - " M u STE R OF THE CATHO Li s C H EN FRAN xREI CH S"

Not only writers of legends have compiled much edifying information about Louis IX (---*---7O), especially since his holiness was not so rare and hereditary: his mother Blanca (Blanche de Castille) was holy, and his sister Elisabeth of France was also holy. Louis's piety, his daily worship, his kneeling before relics - nothing but echoes, it goes without saying - are honored just as much as the alms with which he showered the wretched of his realm, as the benefits he is said to have bestowed on his own clergy, even on lepers; not to forget his healing power against glandular diseases (Pierer).

Ludwig acquired (xz3q) a piece as precious in every respect as Christ's crown of thorns, awakened the h1. Lanxe, also -great" cross statue. He erected for them and other most venerable memorial objects to the Passion of the Lord (cf. III7S If.!) in Paris the Sainte-Chapelle as a two-storey palatine chapel, was laid when it was built.

Louis IX lent a helping hand to the Cistercian abbey of Royaumont, sometimes washed the feet of girls and bore his wife Margaret of Provence - a militant lady, a crusader who later raised an army to defend her widows' rights - eleven children (a very Christian act). And Louis IX really deserves credit for his ban on judicial duels and private feuds.

There are, of course, other things from the life of the rex pius and rex pacificus that stand in contrast to all this and more; his elevation to the honor of the ancients (feast of August 5) may even have met with Voltaire's approval.

Louis, whose canonization process was not witnessed by his wife, but by her confessor Guil-Laume de Saint-Pathus, knew how to wield a sword early and powerfully, and at the age of twenty-eight, he established his military fame (Ehlers) - an uplifting thing for a saint. But his mother St. Blanca of Castile was already characterized by a healthy Catholic robustness. She took over the government twice, resolutely put down numerous vehemence revolts of the nobility, not without the help of the Holy See, made the Holy Inquisition in southern France frighteningly powerful and extended the Capetian rule.

Similarly, M. Louis led successful campaigns against the Count of the Marche, Hugh of Lusignan, against Henry Ill. of England, whom he brought to his knees at Saintes on July z3. July x*4 at Saintes, whom he brought to his knees. He razed castles, fought battles and even forced Count Raimund VB. of Toulouse to submit. And finally, he agreed that his brother CarÍ of Anjou should take over the Staufi Sicilian inheritance. From his office as ruler, the

-He had a high opinion of the "Dictionary of Saints and Popes", and so he ensured justice and order in his country by setting the best example himself."

The best example for St. King natürĺich also included the persecution of Andean believers and heretics. For example, the prince with the "angelic look and gentle face" (Salimbe- ne}, the king (Herd), who was characterized b y a deep sense of justice and an internalized religiosity, fought the Cathars and introduced inquisitional justice. He ordered the expulsion of Jewish "usurers" and ordered the Talmud to be destroyed. Also on x 3rd May*4 fourteen wagonloads of these disappeared in Paris.

atif once in the flames and on another occasion still

once søcİis. And in 1955, the saint ordered the burning of the Talmud and literally blasphemous books in general. As early as the summer of i z3g Paper Gregory IX had ordered many European kings, from Spain and Portugal to Britain, to take away all writings from the Jews when they were in their synagogues on a Sabbath.

But people were also burned under the saint, and after the Albigensian main base of Montsé- gur was captured by a royal army, the last more than zoo Cath- fer were burned at the stake at the foot of the castle on i 6th May I*44. After all, his father Louis VIII - constantly urged on by the pope and bishops - had already fought against them on various crusades fully and completely paid for by the French church and confiscated the nobles' estates in frequent - heretic- trials before he died either from dysentery or, according to the - Annales Mar- bacenses-, from a poisonous potion.

Like the father, the church encyclopedia by Tetzer/Wel- te says, the son also created peace and tranquillity in the country with a strong hand, if necessary, and finally became "the darling of the French people and the model of Catholic France".

However, the strong hand in his own country would hardly have been enough for so much popularity and exemplarity in the French empire, had it not been for the enormous overarching holy achievements: two crusades at once, whereby it does not detract from the holiness that both ended in a fiasco - in the eighteenth century, the lexicon of theology and the church honors Louis IX as a "model of a Christian ruler". And many -pro- fan historians- also pay tribute.'

D gR HE I LI G E IRI EGER
tWO wEItHER CREEvEs

Even before Innocent IV had lobbied with moderate success for a holy *war* at the Council of Lyon, the *Irarizocian* king had taken the cross in December, obviously in undeniable enthusiasm, as he wanted to effectively withdraw from the strong influence of his energetic Holy Mother, who was single-mindedly promoting expansion in the South. Ludwig's immediate motive is uncertain; whether it was grief over

the fall of Jerusalem or the joy of recovery from a threatening diarrhea. But from now until his death

**7 . so for a quarter of a century, ei, encouraged by PapSt Innocence, could hardly get away from the idea of the crossroads, which played a role in almost all his plans.

he dominated all so-called leadership tasks. For the saint, the crusade was nothing less than "the basis of French politics" {H. E. Mayer), "the most important of all the king's works" (Ehlers). If Louis thus pursued a policy of peace in Europe in the second half of his reign, which was acclaimed time and again, it was only in order to be able to wage war against Islam elsewhere with all the more prospects of being able to hunt the Muslims - in his words - "like cattle".

But it was the Holy Father, of all people, who wanted to stop the holy king, who after all had spent years arming himself and his brothers, from doing something so honorable. At least that is what Sa- limbene of Parma, himself in Lyon at the time and on intimate terms with Innocent IV, claimed: "Since the pope now realized that Frederick was the worst persecutor of the Church and was gleefully spraying his poison as much as he could, and since he was in great fear for his own life, he sent to the King of France with the request that he postpone his cruise until he had realized what God was finally planning to do with Frederick." But the holy king sent word to the Pope that he should leave Frederick's fate to God's decision and - remained stubbornly resolute and of firm and pious courage to undertake the crusade and hasten to the aid of the Holy Land as quickly as p o s s i b l e -.

The army, almost exclusively French, sailed into the Old Port of Marseille in August I 2.§8 with the crusader hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus". "And the ship's master called out to his sailors: 'Set sail, in God's name! And so they did', describes Jean de Joinville, seneschal of Champagne, in his often hagiographically glorifying yet lively crusade book "Histoire de Saint Louis". "Soon the wind filled the sails and deprived us of the sight of land, so that all we could see was heaven.

and water, and every day the wind carried us further away from the places where we were born.

The king, his brothers Robert of Artois and Charles of Anjou had also set off from Aigues Mortes, the port founded by Louis, on a8. August, all of them together with their wives, set off on their journey from Aigues Mortes, the port founded by Louis, of course in close union with God and all his saints. This is also what happened after wintering on Cypress, immediately before landing at Damiette in Egypt on

y. June i zJq, all with God, in the address of the ruler, at mass, by the legal, who of course, as it is repeatedly said, -held the true cross-, with which he rained on the Christians, the

-unbelievers". Just as the holy king, when he went ashore in Egypt, threatened the sick Sultan al-Malik a# -§iliij in a letter: -*What also* that *the [Muslim* r} &people of Andalusia pay us [Christians] tribute and gifts, and that we hunt them like cattle, kill the men, make the women widows, take their daughters and sons captive, and make their houses desolate." Even if the Sultan were to become a Catholic, even if he swore every oath to him, nothing would stop him, Louis, from attacking and fighting you in the land dearest to you." And concludes with the humility befitting a Christian saint: "I have taught you and warned you of the armies that obey me and fill mountain and valley, as numerous as the stones of the earth and sent against you with the swords of fate.

According to the Arab historian Makrizi, the sultan had

her eyes filled with tears as she listened to the letter. But then he recalls his own, the Muslim power. If the king knew it - "You bite your fingers with remorse". It is d e s t i n e d f o r you to stand on a day that begins to benefit us and ends to your detriment," he concludes: -'He who survives, falls'; so will your AnmaBung fall you and plunge you into misfortune. Greetings to you.

Pastorally well-prepared, they were able to pierce the waves as soon as they stepped ashore, " with the power of Jesus Christ and the holy cross" ,›• Johann Sarrasin reported in a letter, almost without

own losses - probably to the oo" Turks "and many of their horses". The strongly fortified and well-equipped Damiette, which it had once taken Irian three years to conquer, was also taken in early June, completely without carcass, as the inhabitants and the Cinatic garrison, who had been hanged for it soon afterwards, had hastily abandoned it, fearing for their lives. -All of Egypt was seized by despair" (Ibn Wätil).

But Louis the Saint, who was the first to enter the city, not only took all the weapons, ammunition, supplies and food, but also took away everything that was in the city's largest mosque and all the others and had a church built in honor of Jesus Christ.} The king also soon established an archbishop's see, whereby all subsequent circumstances clearly point to a very sober territorial acquisition policy, through which he intended to annex the conquered land to his crown.

But as much as the pius rex proved himself here as everywhere else - be it on the battlefield with "mighty blows of the sword" or with his wife, who gave birth to a son in Damiette - despite Christ and the true cross and the German sword and all the masses and confessions and funeral services, The time came relatively soon when things got worse and worse, Ludwig was -always in prayer-, but his teeth were literally chattering and he had to be constantly lifted off his horse because of the breakdown. Hunget came; epidemics, massacres and battles in which -the tiiic lions defeated the faithful dogs- (Ibn Wä9il). It began for the army, says Joinville, -the great misery, for after nine days the corpses of our people, whom the torments had killed, came to the surface again ... so many that the whole river was full of dead bodies from one bank to the other and as far alongside as you could throw a stone.

The Arab historian Ibn WäJil, also a contemporary and eyewitness, speaks of the terrible losses suffered by the Franks: -The number of dead is said to **have** amounted to thirty thousand ..." His colleague Makrizi, who admittedly only wrote later, also mentions three thousand dead, apart from those who fled.

The prisoners could not be counted. The Frenchman fled to al-Munja and begged for his life, which we assured him. We took him prisoner, treated him with honor and, with the help and strength of God, his greatness and greatness, we recovered Damierte ..." Ibn Wä5il says laconically: -So God cleansed Egypt from them.

Louis IX was the last European monarch to rule the Holy Roman Empire.

land as a crusader.

On the advance to Cairo, once again hopelessly cornered, as had already happened i zz x under the legate Pelagius IS. zz3 ff.), the crusader army had no choice but to surrender at Mansurah. And who knows how few of the proud feudal army - estimated at up to z5 ooo soldiers, including z oo knights and yooo crossbowmen - were still in French Boderi! The enormous costs of the carefully prepared, technically well-organized but militarily inadequately led enterprise were written in the wind. The royal treasury put the total cost at i.3 million livres tournois, a multiple of its annual revenuei; of which war costs were 7 yo ooo, fortifications in the Holy Land i zo ooo,

Shipbuilding 4 ooO, court expenses woo ooo, ransom for the king BIO Ooo, Ransoming Christian Prisoners i 3oO livres.

Where did the money come from?

q 5o ooo livres tournois came from a five-year crusade tithe of the French Church, which H1. Louis had to contribute because a general crusade twentieth of the church outside the country yielded far too little. The contribution of the cities w a s calculated, very problematically, at*74 * 'Yffl8 tOUrTlO!S.

It can't hurt to know that at the time, in the

In the middle of the 3rd century, the income of Louis the Saint, the patron of the mendicant orders and highly praised benefactor of the poor,

- year amounted to ayo ooo livres, so that the royal salary (state budget), roughly speaking, amounted year after year to as much as the enormous war devoured year after year.'°

Despite the fiasco, the saint swung back into action in old age.

a holy war.

On ay. March 7, he took up the cross again at a court meeting in Paris with three sons, several princes and many barons and landed on July i8. On July 8, he landed on the beach of Carthage, near the pitiful remains of the ancient metropolis, with allegedly 6ooo horsemen and 3o ooo foot soldiers, in order to "convert" the Emir of Tunis. Thanks not least to the activities of a Dominican monastery in Tunis (ceit z zyo), she was considered "ready for conversion".

According to Makrizi, however, Louis wanted to take advantage of famine and epidemics, and there is no doubt that St. Souve- rän, for all his serious modesty, which was, of course, regarded as an expression of his sanctity by coming enemies, had not only gone ashore with pious intentions. The emir had also taken the precaution of arming himself; moreover, according to the Arab chronicle, he sent him messengers with eighty thousand dinars and asked him for peace. [The Pranzos took them, but did not make peace with him. As befits a holy Christian king. Nevertheless, heaven was against him even at this crossing. For soon after the landing there were great losses on both sides, indeed, the plague broke out in the French army, a typhus or dysentery-like plague that destroyed it and on cy. Au-

gust --7 ß U C h the king. But now, when his flesh and intestines were brought to Monreale and his heart and bones were transferred to Saint-Denis

Miracle upon miracle ...

But as far as Louis' first offensive, the failure in Egypt, was concerned, voices were already being heard in the Catholic la- ger at the time who did not consider Innocent IV to be blameless. The pope was simply too deeply involved in the dispute with the Hohenstaufen dynasty to be able to effectively promote Louis' crusade. This led to sensational protests in very different circles and forms. The king himself ordered his brothers to France in order to persuade the Pope to make peace with Frederick, even threatening to expel him from Lyon, and Innocent, shortly before the king's death, was already planning his escape to Bordeaux in England. Queen Blanca, reigning during Louis' absence, forbade the promotion of Innocent's Sicilian war. And an imperial

" T h e pope, in the second day of the barons, firmly objected to the pope abandoning the king, who was tolerating for the faith, in order to extend his own rule."

T H E OASTO RE L LENAU FSTAND

Closely related to this crusade of Louis is the pastoreaux uprising iay i, a rather anti-clerical action mainly of the shepherds (pastoreaux), the rural and urban lower classes in northern France, Picardy and Flanders, a region traditionally prone to crusades, even if no direct connection to the War of the Orient can be proven.

It is possible that these circles - which at first no one was willing to resist, who were given food and "everything they desired" - were also outraged by the Pope's anti-Christian call to crusade, by the prelates' behavior, by their failure to cross the king.J• In any case, they aroused fear.

the rebellion against the monks, especially preachers and mino rites, because they had preached the cross and marked the people on the cross in the wake of the king who had been defeated by the Saracens. And the Gauls, who had remained in France, were so enraged against Christ at that time that they dared to mock Christ's sacred name. For example, when in those days the Ivtinorites and preachers asked the French for alms in the name of Christ, they gnashed their teeth at them and called another poor man before their eyes, gave him their pennies and said: "Take this in the name of Mahomed, who is mightier than Christ'- tsalimbene of Parma).

Much lies in the dark, due to the one-sided source reports, a hostile chronicle, which also discredited and criminalized these marginal groups of society, probably considerably beyond their own misdeeds.

Under their leader Jacob (?), an educated, eloquent

The pastorals, the little shepherds, apparently planned a crusade to the Holy Land. On their way from Amiens to Paris, where Blanca of Castile received their leader, they are said to have approached iooooo people (not only from the lower classes). Through increasing radicalization and excesses; through plundering, murder of clergy, monks, nobles,

Also, as was so often the case with crusades, through Jewish pogroms, they apparently became a danger to the cities and were soon persecuted themselves,

were cruelly hunted down and destroyed as far south as Marseille and as far north as southern England. Their leader was also killed. Although the uprising was crushed within a few months, it nevertheless demonstrated the rebellion, the spontaneous protest of simple ethnic groups against a hierarchy that placed its quest for self and power above a crusade for the common faith. "

The Mongol invasion was a real threat to Christianity, a danger of unprecedented proportions, before which everything else, including Islam, disappeared. And just as it subjugated Russia for at least two centuries, it could probably have subjugated the whole of Europe had it not been saved by a change of leadership on the Mongol side.

THE M o NGO UN STORM AND THE Mi SS I ON
nes JoHANN ES vO N P LANO CAnr i NI

The Central Asian people of the Mongols - the Russian sources speak exclusively of Tatars: the original name of a small Mongolian sub-tribe - did not emerge as an autonomous political organization until the end of the 19th century.

Genghis Khan (d. i zz7), real name: Temüjin, and his son and successor Ogödei { rzz7-renz), the huge area between China and the threshold of Europe, until

Russia, Poland, Hungary - "from the saddle", with the superior tactics of rapidly reacting horsemen, overrun in almost uninterrupted battles in two decades and left everything they stormed through in ruins.

In November or DOZem>-*•4 they conquered the once strong Kiev (cf. V 644 ff.) and ruined it completely. On z4 March of the following year, they destroyed Krakow, and on9 April, they defeated the German-Polish cavalry army with the Piasteri Duke at Liegnitz. Henry II the Pious of Lower Silesia, who himself perished in the process. Two days later, the Hungarian army under Bgla IV (1235 to - -7), after which the king was never freed from his nightmare. Half of the Hungarians fell victim to the invaders.

The countries of the East were completely on their own. A crusade by Gregory IX and an appeal by the emperor met with only a lukewarm response, just as both forces were mutually tied to each other in Italy. Moreover, Frederick had been warned, as the Holy Father had already invaded the southern Italian empire once in his absence. He could not risk this a second time. The popes, however, accused the monarch himself of having summoned the Mongols to punish Austria and Hungary! At the Council of Lyon, Innocent had raised their defense. But when the imperial Grand Poet Thaddeus of Suessa offered not only the return of the Papal States, not only a cruise to the Holy Land, but also a campaign against the Mongols, finally even naming the kings of France and England as bribes, the Pope rejected all this with obvious excuses.

Only four years after the destruction of the Western armies at Liegnitz and Mohi, Innocent sent out envoys with the task of investigating everything and carefully observing individual things. Officially, the envoys said, -because he wished that all Christians should be friends of the Tartars and live in peace with them; moreover, he wished them to be great with God in heaven.

The Dominicans Ascelin, Simon of St. Quentin and Andrew of Longjumeau went to the Near East, and the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini and comrades went to Russia - very difficult, dangerous and ultimately fruitless expeditions. In his letter, Innocent expresses his astonishment to the Mongols in his usual hypocrisy - for he could have made all the accusations against the Christians in the same way - that "as we have heard, you have invaded many Christian and other lesser lands, devastated them in terrible destruction and not ablafit, to stretch out your devastating hands to other countries in a still continuing frenzy, and, detached from the bond of riature-given kinship, to wield the sword of vengeance against all, without distinction, regardless of age or gender. The Pope warns, begs, admonishes the Mongol people to stop such attacks and especially the persecution of Christians altogether, that they "appease the wrath of the divine majesty ... by making amends with an appropriate penance ... - that it be baptized.

According to the Catholic theologian Seppelt, Irinocent did not wish to persuade the ruler of the vast Mongol Empire to accept Christianity, but also sought to win him over to a common approach against the Saiazenes. But the Tartar ruler wrote to the Pope: "The consequence of your words contained the sentence that we should be baptized and become Christians. To this we reply shortly that we do not see the reason why we should do so. - To a second point contained in your letter, namely that you were surprised at the slaughter of so many people, especially Christians, and most of all Poles, Moravians and Hungarians, we reply that we understand just as little. However, lest it seem that we want to pass all this over in silence, we answer you as follows: Because they disobeyed the *will of* God and the command of Cyngis- chan and Chan and killed our messengers at a great gathering, God commanded us to destroy them and gave them into our hands. For otherwise, if this were not God's work, what could man have done to man?

n? You men of the West abet; you believe that you are Christians alone in the world and look down on others. But how can you know whom God considers worthy of his favor? But we, in worship of God and with the power of his support, have laid waste the whole earth from east to west. And if it were not for the power of God's assistance, what c o u l d man have done? - The newly elected Great Khan Güyük (-*4 to
**4) like the Pope, laid claim to world domination and demanded scine submission.

Johannes von Plano Carpini, whose rich, lively and widely read report "YSto- ria Mongaloruin", which was considered sensational at the time, is still one of the most important contemporary testimonies to the early culture of the Mongols before their conversion to Buddhism, set off from Lin in mid-April and traveled for over two years, undoubtedly less as a missionary than as a spy.

The Franniscan mentions all sorts of things, including religious rites and beliefs, writing, for example: -They believe in a single God, of whom they believe that he is the creator of all things visible and invisible, which is not very different from the Christian faith, even if they honor all sorts of other things, just as the Christians do. But our monk, although already sixty and well-lived, was once still a personal companion of St. Francis. St. Francis' personal companion, he w a s , a s the pope instinctively chose, above all a military emissary who wrote a s thoroughly as possible about the Niongolian expansion, about their wars and - how to meet them in war - in fortress fighting, in castle fighting, on the water in man-to-man combat, which they did not love, in open field battles, which they tended to shy away from, while they referred to the destroyers as "their penned-up pigs", -who only had to watch over them". Their leaders never intervened directly in a battle, but rather - in keeping with the tried and tested practice of generals - "kept their distance from the enemy army".

Monk Johannes provides a long list of necessary equipment, from lances with hooks ...., which are suitable for pulling the Tatareri out of the saddle, to armor for man and horse.

-No money should be spared when buying weapons ..." In short, the Franciscan created -a detailed tactical and strategic handbook of Mongol defense", -which took into account all Mongol weapons, techniques, motives and ways of acting that he could find out, as well as the conditions in the Occident- (Schmieder).

Naturally, the Pope's messenger expects, as he emphasizes in the first sentence of the prologue, a "triumphant victory over the enemies of God and our Lord Jesus Christ". Otherwise, there are almost only negative things to report about these people. Above all, again and again, that in war

-are extremely devious. Yes, they are deceitful, Monk John knows, deceitful in word and deed. And they are tremendously greedy, tribute-hungry, just waiting to harm others, to capture others and - apparently their favorite business - to massacre them. -They kill people, invade foreign countries, steal other people's property in any unjust way, fornicate, do violence to other people, act against God's prohibitions and regulations: None of this is considered sinful."

How, at least in practice, and only that interests us, the Christians. But in contrast to them, the Mongols, Genghis Khan and his descendants, were religiously tolerant. They practiced religious tolerance, provided only that the priests of the various confessions prayed for the good of the dynasty. The Archbishop of View was able to continue to reside there after the destruction of the city. The papal messengers were allowed to say mass, and the -current emperor of the Tartars, John reports, not only tolerated Christians in his court, but also Christian clergy and a Christian house chapel in front of his tent.

But if the Mongols did not object to the Christians looking around them, the papal envoys -for numerous reasons- did not find it useful", according to John, that Mongolian envoys traveled back with them, as the thought of bringing in spies -significantly- frightened them. They were even more worried that the Mongols would be "even more animated by the sight of the strife and wars among us ... to attack us".

fall ... Thirdly, we feared that they might be killed, since our peoples are to a large extent ruthless and arrogant ... -"

ÜAPS T IN NO CEN Z FEI LSCHT
SUMMARY4 CO II IG RE I CH U Mi D STIR BT

There was never a lack of ruthlessness and arrogance, turmoil, discord and war in the West. Not even when Innocent IV went all out after the death of his great opponent. In doing so, he concentrated *initially* and mostly on the Sicilian regnum, even though he wanted to wipe out the Hohenstaufen in the *north.*

There, of course, at least on the island itself, the old power structures were still intact and Frederick's empire, held together more poorly than well b y his hard fist, was still crumbling. The Pope, however, did everything he could to bring the country and its people to revolt and apostasy. Like the third, the fourth Innocent had never been stingy with bribes and promises. But now, in the battle against Frederick's illegitimate son Manfred, the Prince of Taranto, who was reigning in place of Conrad IV, who was staying in Germany, Innocent almost outdid himself, even if or precisely because what he had at his disposal did not belong to him.

While Manfred (i 23Z-I aöö), in conflict with the Sicilian **Baroness,** sought contact **with the pope**, he lured Manfred's enemies, made concessions, gave gifts to rebels and superiors, granted city rights, awarded counties and confirmed them. But even if Innocent passed Naples for the ecclesiastical state, even for eternity, he was not urged to do so. His commander Cardinal Peter Capocci made no progress from the Margrave of Ancona and was soon replaced. And when Conrad IV appeared on the battlefield with a strong entourage, the papal situation deteriorated even further, especially as Manfred had to give his half-brother

immediately handed over the government when he disembarked in Siponto, Sicily, on January 8, i zyz, coming by ship from Venice."

Innocent, however, to whom Conrad soon asked in Perugia for an amicable

The Holy Father continued to support the German counter-king William of Holland, who asked for recognition in the Kingdom of Sicily and as emperor. Despite several cardinals who did not want the war against the Hohenstaufen to continue, the Holy Father did not want peace and did not want to see a Hohenstaufen rule either in Germany or in Sicily. He moved from his Umbrian asylum back to Rome at the same time as Conrad took Naples in October Ia53 , which had been under siege since the summer and had been held for a long time, where he was still preferred to the Hohenstaufen, who now *ruled* the entire Sicilian empire without restriction.

In the winter of iz53/Ias4, Conrad once again sought reconciliation with the pope, who, however, continued to cling to his radical goals and his hostility. Once again, he scattered old and new accusations, some as perfidious as they were ridiculous. Conrad, for example, would not only rule tyrannically, not only kill heretics, plunder churches and monasteries, but he was also supposed to be his

T h e youngest son of the emperor (from his marriage to Isabella of England), and poisoned a nephew. Conrad defended

He was good, rejected many things convincingly, but because he was still impudently withholding the kingdom from the Church, he was banned on Green Thursday, April q. April E*54. *-n Innocent. And soon afterwards, on aJ May, Konrad N. died after a joyless, laborious life, just a6 years old, in the Hecrlager near Lavello (Umbria) on his way to Germany, where he probably wanted to intervene militarily. His body was cremated before his final burial in Messina.

In the meantime, the Pope had realized that he was not strong enough to subjugate the kingdom in the south himself. His own means of power were less sufficient than ever. So he looked around for help and had been negotiating with Richard of

Cornwall, the brother of King Henry III of England, praised in the sources for his wealth, and it can be assumed that it was precisely Richard's enormous means that particularly appealed to the immensely money-hungry Pontifex. He offered the Sicilian royal crown to the Count at least twice, but was savvy enough to contact another interested party at the same time, Charles of Anjou, the brother of the French king, in whose unsuccessful crusades to the Nile Delta and Tunis Charles had taken part.

The negotiations were conducted by the papal notary Albert von Parma, after Innocent had issued letters to both the English and French sides on August 3 and 5, which, however, were only to be handed over to one addressee in the event of an emergency. For the Englishman knew as little as the Frenchman of the Pope's double 5game. However, as Richard had not been promised any economic or financial help from the latter, so that the Sicily project seemed too risky to him, indeed it was allegedly as if he was being sold the moon with the offer to take it for himself, Innocent now got deeper into business with Charles, who was as ambitious as he was deceitful.

The Angiovine was to receive the huge sum of zooooo pounds a year from the pope's pocket until the kingdom was fully transferred into his hands, which was currently empty, however Large loans were necessary, even at high interest rates, covered by crusade funds, etc. Charles had to swallow a whole heap of cucial conditions for this, which his councillors in particular resisted, and was to open the war in southern Italy by i November i zy3. November i zy3, naturally with a strong heeq to open the war in southern Italy. As Innocent did not want to give in, he recommended to his partner the decision of a court of arbitration, which was, of course, to be rendered ineffective in advance by Charles' declaration to the contrary and to stipulate that he was exclusively bound by the papal demands. However, this neat deal also came to nothing, as Charles now preferred to intervene in a Flanders inheritance dispute on the side of Countess Margarethe, with Hainaut beckoning him, a considerably smaller but easier territory to conquer,

which is why he withdrew from the Sicilian cause in the fall of i-53. °P-*"8-"

Since then, however, Innocent had been operating in England again, through a secret mission by his nephew Ottobuono Fieschi, who had recently been elevated to cardinal deacon, albeit only for a few weeks as Hadrian V, to become pope. This time the conference was not with Richard of Gornwall, but with the king. And presumably the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Fieschi, also gave Henry the idea of acquiring the crown of the country for his eight-year-old son Edmund.

Agreement was quickly reached and the new result was approved by both sides. On zd. May i syd, Innocent issued the confirmation and already regarded Edmund as the new lord of Sicily - and in turn resigned. For on z5. King Conrad had died on z5 May, and now, and this was by far the most plausible reason in the speculation, the pope believed that he could manage the situation on his own again, that he could do it without the English and without the French, and that he could incorporate the Lower Italian regency into the Papal States as once planned.

Conrad lV had left behind a son of the same name, who w a s born at Wolfstein Castle (north of Landshut), grew up in Bavaria and Swabia u n d e r his mother's, the Wittelsba- cher Elisabetb, and his uncle, Duke Louis 11 of Bavaria, and was initially ironically called Conradin, il Corradino, by the Italians. No one d e n i e d him his right to inherit Sicily, except the popes. Innocent and NacMolgcr only recognized Conradin as King of Jérusalem and Duke of Swabcn (since z z.6z). Innocent now believed he could regain the lower Italian kingdom himself and made one crooked move after another in this regard. First of all, the margrave Berthold of Hohenburg, leader of the German troops in the regency and made guardian of his two-year-old son by Conrad lV, was deprived of his guardianship and t r a n s f e r r e d it t o Manfred, whereby the pope still maintained the appearance of not necessarily rejecting Conrad's right of succession. However, he soon excommunicated not only the Hohenstaufen and

Manfred also took their fiefs and ordered a powerful army, already in the south of the patrimony and paid for mainly by the Italian churches, to march into the Hohenstaufen kingdom, on whose border in Anagni he was already at the time of Conrad's death in order to get things under control as quickly as possible at close quarters.

The commander of the papal troops was the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Wilhelm Fieschi, but the actual commander-in-chief was a brother of the Pope. The whole thing almost looked like a papal family business. The pope's brother was even rumored to be the Sicilian king. In any case, people moved closer and closer, they ran to pay homage. Innocent soon ruled as if the Sicilian kingdom were the Papal States. Manfred was overcome with fear, submitted, became a vassal, and the pope seemed to be on the verge of a triumph like no other, as he himself boasted in a letter to his hometown that "the situation of the Church today is more glorious than ever before".
former ci

The appearance of the sovereign was accordingly. He determined everything. He determined the fiefs for Manfred, defined the exact extent of his territory and, while reserving for himself the revenues of the whole, awarded him an annual salary that would certainly not have sufficed for any political or military undertakings of his own, and would therefore have largely left him cold. When the new empire came into possession, the Hohenstaufen had to serve on the frontier, he had to lead the papal horse, he had to accompany the Holy Father, who as supreme owner conferred offices, confirmed rights, granted favors and assigned territories, even without respecting the borders of Manhed's principality. The legate behaved in a similarly autocratic manner. So the statifer knew what he had to expect, and he was immediately escorted by the papal troops to Lucera, where he was surrounded by his father's Saracens, and where a full state coffers immediately allowed him to fight against the legate's army, which was defeated at Foggia on December z.

Innozeriz, whose high expectations are dwindling, the

Once again finding himself unable to fight and win alone, he once more asked England for help, but lay ill for some time in Naples, where he learned of the loss of his army and, deeply affected by this turn of events, died on
7 December i z d shortly after sunset. And decades later, the inscription on his magnificent tomb monument in the city's cathedral boasted that he had -stretched Frederick, the serpent who disputed Christians, into the dust.

The Catholic papal historian Kühner calls Innocent fV. not only a ruthless politician who senselessly and vcrblcndet Kai-
and kings, Frederick 11th, Sancho 11th of Portugal . James I of Aragon, but also authorizes the secular rulers to use torture against "heretics",
who has made himself liable through his tax policy, e' attests to his deceitfulness, geÍdgieq nepotism and denies him "any inner reason".

ÉAPST **LEXAN** D ER IV. x z 39-x z6i)
S UCHT D IE STAU FER DURc H En Gin1'd D TO UNDERSTAND

The popes who ruled until the end of the i 3rd century reigned for only a few years, Innocent V and Celestine V for only a few months, Hadrian V for only a few weeks. The curial policy of this time was largely determined by the -sicilian question-. Not without backlash, they became increasingly dependent on France, whose influence was growing just as Germany's was declining. And its decline in power and prestige was followed by that of the papacy.

The longest pontificate was held by his immediate successor Alexander IV. { i• s4*• -6 r), already the third pope from the House of the Counts di Segni, a nephew of Gregory IX, who immediately succeeded him,
made a cardinal at his first doctorate. "Fat, that means corpulent, and fat he was like a second Eglon; also kind,

mild, pious, 'just and godly' and devoted to God- (Salimbene of Parina).'-

In the same year in which Alexander IV came to power (under the influence of the car- dinal Ottaviano Ubaldini), the interregnum had begun in Germany with the death of Conrad, the "imperial, terrible time", and Alexander eagerly supported the Clegen king William of Holland. However, he remained neutral when WilliamxaJ6 fell to the Frisians on a military expedition to expand his power and a double election was held - for the first time by the College of the Seven Electors, which elected two foreigners, one English and one Spanish, as German kings: Prince Richard of Cornwall, who visited Germany four times, and Alfonso X of Castile, who never visited Germany. of Castile, who never set foot in Germany but was the grandson of *Philip* of Swabia. The Pope now declared himself in favor of neither, as he wanted to maintain the schism so that both sides weakened each other and Italy remained without an emperor. The main thing was that the Hohenstaufen Conradin was not up for election. He had forbidden this to the Rhenish archbishops and their fellow electors under threat of ecclesiastical excommunication.

For Alexander IV continued, less energetically, certainly, the anti-Staufer policy of his predecessors, as well as many a beautiful papal custom - for example the pledging or granting of lands and castles to his relatives. Moreover, he expelled Manfred and his followers from the Church on the one hand and enfeoffed the still-underage English prince Edmund Crouchback, Eafl Of Lancaster (*>4f-- -gö), the second son of Henry III, with the kingdom of Sicily on the other.

The English Church, which bore the brunt of the trade, failed t o f u l f i l l its demands: high tithe obligations and restitution of more than i 3 y ooo pounds sterling, alleged expenditures of St. Smhl for Sicily. If the heavy conditions were not fulfilled, the treaty was to be annulled, the king was to b e excommunicated and the whole country was to fall under the interdict.-* The pope, whose war policy swallowed up large sums of money, so that he had to borrow iyo ooo pounds sterling from the banks of Rome, Florence and Siena.

He was in urgent need of money. In the meantime, he had armed himself, and even if, as we remember, he was kind and mild, pious anyway, "an inward, religious personality of impeccable conduct" (Seppelt), and even if he proclaimed the unity of nations in his declaration of government, peace for countries and churches, at the end of April ix5 J he also marched an army under the supreme command of Cardinal Ubaldini, the pope's master, and the military leadership of the Bavarian margrave Berthold von Hohenburg. At Foggia, the main force was surrounded by the Legale and forced to surrender. The Hohenburgei, imprisoned for life by Manfred for treason, perished in the dungeon; it is not clear how.

Papsr Alexander abet; who had begun with a kind of pacifist program, did not want peace now either. He negotiated desperately with England and, lacking the money to pay for the failed campaign, tried to arrange a new one to Sicily. But although the Curia hoped that the brother of the English ruler, Richard of Cornwall, would be made king by some of the German princes, as mentioned, -*57 **ffl could open the way for an English army through Germany.
easier, they did not even get that far. For not only did parliament reject the papal plan of conquest, but Henry III, struggling for power with the nobility, got into serious difficulties himself, facing an uprising - in short, England ruled out fighting for Sicily for the Roman Church*.

T H E R E I S T H E I N F O R M A T I O N . . . °

In the meantime, Manfred had conquered the lower Italian mainland and the island after an unsuccessful attempt to reach an understanding with the Pope. After having seized the Hohenstaufen treasure in an unexplained **manner in** the name of the Pope, he had conquered the island step by step.

unrrnnal Conradin had become lord of the kingdom. And when, with his entry into Sicily in the spring of ia58, the rumor circulated that Conradin (the legitimate heir) had died, some archbishops anointed and crowned Manfred king in Palermo in August. Conradin's envoys protested in vain. The Pope excommunicated him in vain and imposed an interdict on his whereabouts. In vain, the Holy Father instigated an uprising in Sicily under the leadership of a swindler who pretended to be Frederick II.

Manfred's power grew beyond his own realm. He gained large parts of the Papal States, the Margraviate of Ancona, the Principality of Spoleto and Romagna. Without any title of ruler {but might is right, even today; s. only recently the overfáÍł on Serbieri iqpq), Manfred, who sent several governors with soldiers and money to the north, gained more and more influence in central and - through the margrave Uberto Pallavicini, who defected to him and fought for him as "capitanus generalis" - in northern Italy, where the country was widely divided, often p i t t i n g town against town, with Guelphs and Ghibellines fighting each other within one and the same commune, or the aristocracy against the merchants who had become rich.

In Lombardy, the united armies of Pallavicini and Ezzelino III da Romano, the important Ghibelline ruler and sovereign of Verona, Treviso and Padua, had

*58 defeated the papal legates leading a crusade

but fell out over the spoils. For this reason, Pallavicini, cursed as a heretic, switched to the papal camp in the summer of i zyq and, together with his ally Azzo IL, margrave of Este, defeated Ezzelino, son-in-law and friend of Frederick II since I >43 CXcommunized, in the battle of Cassano d'Adda at the end of September. Enzelino succumbed to a wound in captivity a few days later; his -entire family was exterminated- Haller). Manfred also remained victorious a year later, at the time of his greatest power, in the war between Siena and FÍorence on the side of the Sienese in the battle of Montaperti on4 September ra6o, which was won by treachery and resulted in heavy losses.

Pope Alexaødeq, who called for peace and harmony at the beginning of his pontificate, but soon made war himself, which also -Alexander had "widened the scope of the Inquisition", as Herdet's - Łexikon fiir Theo- logie und Kirche- puts it, which may have had something to do with his preference for the orders of the Knights of St. John, the ordines mendicantes, etc. Alexander also saw the Christian world torn apart in other ways. In the East, the knightly orders of the Knights of St. John and the Templars fought against each other at the University of Paris (since i zşz), the world clergy (William of Saint-Amout; Gerhard of AbbevilÍe) against the pastoral care and teaching activities of the Dominicans and Franciscans; indeed soon and for decades against the orders in general, without listening to the Pope. In Italy, Venice fought against Ge- nua for sixteen years, in Venice's first Genoa War. And here, too, Alexander tried in vain to "pacify this Christian war at the gates of the holy land" (Kretschmayr).

The pope lost much of his prestige, even in Rome, where the constant clashes between the people and the nobility, but also in the aristocratic oligarchy itself, led to chaos; where once the pope of the citizens was imprisoned, once the senator of the nobility was beaten to death; where the fury of the people led to banishments and executions, where the possessions of the pope and his aristocratic clergy were also attacked in the surrounding area; where Brancaleone dcgli Andalò, who was closely allied with Manfred, J risr and
Democratic Senator the Capitano del popOlo, -4 AdeÍstürme
and h a n g s two Annibaldi, members of the famous family related by marriage to the popes of the Conti family (Innocent III, Gregory IX, Alexander IV), before he himself dies in Rome, perhaps of poison. At times it was not only the supreme authorities who had to ßiehen, but above all the pope, who had less and less to say and whose anti-Staufer policy had failed. Alex- ander resided in Anagni, iri Viterbo, again in Anagni, finally again in Viterbo, where he fell ill and died on May 5. May iaöi.

However, while this pope had favored the English prince Edmund Crouchback as a candidate for the Sicilian throne until the end, his successor steered Italian policy in a completely different

direction.'*

POPE URBAN IV (1 1 6 i-i z 64
AND KARc I. vox AxJ ou
xouuEN Ixs BUSINESS

Urban II, as the Frenchman Jacques Pantaléon called himself, had been a le- gate in Silesia, Poland, Prussia and Germany, and most recently the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. He was in the Curia on business when he was sent to ¢he city on aq. August i a6i, after a three-month conclave, he became pope, presumably as a compromise candidate: a careerist of surprisingly low origin, but who was close to the French court and, unlike his antecessoi, undoubtedly had so-called leadership qualities. This included passing off his son, whom he had brought with him, as a nephew and naming him cardinal, reclaiming *at least* some of the *lost places* and provinces of the patrimony, backing a false Frederick acting in Sicily, and calling Louis the Saint i aö3 to a new crusade.

Although King Manfred immediately ceased all attacks on the ecclesiastical state and, rich as he was, made the Curia a tempting offer of reconciliation -3 ooo ounces of gold (i, J million guilders) for reward with the regnum and io ooo ounces of gold (instead of the previous iooo ounces) per year, i.e. ten times as much, as fiefdom interest - the mifitrau pontiff, who also had a completely different orientation, did not respond.

Urban IV, who first took up residence in Viterbo, then in Orvigto, but never dared to set foot on Rome's soil as pope, if only because he was heavily in debt and feared the crowds of his creditors too much, was French through and through. And when he created fourteen new cardinals, seven o f t h e m were French; even two former chancellors of the king; the Curia became predominantly Francophile.

Nine years earlier, Urban's predecessor had granted the Kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund, the second son of Henry of England. Now Urban amicably dissolved the unfulfilled contract and offered Sicily's crown to a French prince, the younger son of Louis IX.

It was probably more an act of courtesy. And when the king refused, often, as is sometimes said, because of legal scruples, the negative decision was hardly surprising, and the pope made his offer, with the king's consent, to his real candidate, his youngest brother Charles, Count of An- jou and Provence, which led to the final destruction of the Hohenstaufen dynasty and of course was to lead to it.'-.

The Holy Fathers had already initiated major invasions - to save and increase their power and to bring about the downfall of others - on several occasions: when they urged the Byzantines to a kind of crusade against the Sandals {JJ 4' 5 ff.!
They were the ones who blew up the Lombards, wiping out their entire nation (II4M ff.!); when they rebelled with the Lombards against Byzantium {lV 3 y3 ff.) and then, vetlogen, ttickieich, chased the Franks twice against the Lombards1 377 ff.!). They always made others bleed for them and emerged fatter from all sacrifices.

A man like Charles was bound to attract the popes. It was no coincidence that Innocent N. had already chosen him as the successor to the Hohenstaufen dynasty in the south, that he had personally and constantly supported the young Charles, for example leaving him ecclesiastical entu- rities in Provence for years as well as the redemption money for his release from the vow of crusading. The fact that the sinister count was a gambler and that he was only putting on an act of piety did not irritate the Holy Fathers. The main thing was that he jumped into the breach as "athleta Christie, as - campion di San Piero-, the more brutal the better. The Angiovine abeq known for his gray character; his relentless harshness, had become already on the crossing*49 • a5o in Egypt -excellent" (Gregorovius), -proven in a brilliant way" {Herde). And soon after he subdued in the domestic formations, against manifold
The first to resist w e r e Arles, Avignon, Barral de Baux, one of the finest Provençal aristocratic clans, Marseille, and finally the Counts of Ventimiglia.

His brother's plans for conquest in Italy initially made the French king, whose consent was de facto indispensable, hesitate. Apparently he had legal reservations about

England (Edmund) and the Hohenstaufen {Conradin), against whom Urban, like his predecessor Alexander, also took sides under threat of ban. However, Louis' doubts vanished when the **Pope** presented him with the possession of Sicily as a path to the Orient.

The monarch was also initially unprejudiced towards Manfred, a prince who was not called the worst, but the most beautiful, the most amiable, the most beloved Hohenstaufen and King of Sicily. Moreover, Manhed, who was at times personally tutored by Frederick II, whom he resembled in many ways, was intellectually alert, linguistically gifted, a translator of Aristotle from Arabic into Latin, and an innovator of cultural life at the Sicilian court. Even the papal chancery took over Staufer & services after his death. Louis IX also wanted to mediate between the young king and the pope, but the latter rejected this by lying that the latter had shown himself to be unapproachable, although Manfred repeatedly sought reconciliation, especially at the time with a generous peace offer. (Even the Lexikon für Theo- logie und Kirche states Urban's rejection of Manfred's repeated &efforts for peace"). The pope also denounced others who eloquently stood by the Hohenstaufen at the Gallic court: among them Balduin II, the exiled Latin emperor of Constantine
nopel t i*37 *-6I), who eventually made a name for himself by trading in relics (including the hand and arm of John the Baptist!) and knightly ti
who had also sold him, Ludwig, the crown of thorns, the "Passion relic", in ia38, whereupon its veneration - O blessing! - rose again throughout the West.'-

In any case, the mood at court was now changing. Urban's lies and half-truths did their bit. Even his truths. For example, when he emphasized Manfred's collaboration with the Saracens because it might have a stronger effect on the believing Louis than the murders that eq Urban, rightly or wrongly, framed the Hohenstaufen for. And what crowned head, especially what papal one, has no murders on his conscience, directly or indirectly!

In the summer of i- 3 they came closer and closer to Karl; the Pope by no less than 3d points from the equally ambitious and brutal Provençal. For one wanted

Although the Hohenstaufen were liquidated, the Angiovincn were not allowed to become too powerful, even if they initially demanded more than they were able to enforce. After all, Urban IV and his successor Clemens fV only produced around ioo documents in this matter until the final conclusion of the treaty.

Above all, Charles and his heirs were forbidden the personal union of Cairo and Sicilian kingship, they were never allowed to wear the Roman imperial crown, never the German royal crown, never to enter into a marriage with a German imperial or royal house, They were never allowed to expand into central or northern Italy, never to become the ruler of Lombardy or Tuscany, not to mention the numerous services to be rendered to the Church, the freedoms to be granted to it, the renunciations and indemnities to be paid to it in this regard. Of course, money had to be paid to the Holy See for the reward, o ooo sterling marks and an annual tribute of io ooo gold ounces. On request, armored knights, izoo horses or a corresponding number of warships were also to be provided once a year for three months. And Charles was ordered to open the war within a year with iooo knights, a corresponding contingent of foot soldiers and 3oo crossbowmen.

Even if the Frenchman naturally objects to the

The ambitious Anjou had demands, raised concerns in‹4 and the bargaining dragged on for an]ahr, especially since he had been elected senator for life in Rome in the meantime, which seemed a bit long to Pope Urban - the ambitious Anjou urged to strike out, and his impatience, his single-minded haste above all brought him success and victory.

KAR L D THE SAVIOR IS HERE

The conclusion of the treaty in the fall of ia6q coincided roughly with the death of Urban IV in Perugia on October x, whereupon it took four months for the next pope to be elected due to the cardinals' disputes.

was elected on February J: Clemens lY {iz65-iz68), Guy Foul- ques Guido Fulcodi), also French, son of a judge and himself a lawyer, married, father of two Tëchteq Rechtsberarer Louis IX.

He only became a priest nine years before his election and the next year he was already Bishop of Le Puy, two years later Archbishop of Narbonne, then Cardinal just three years later - a rapid career. However, the prevailing hostility to the Pope only allowed him to reach Perugia disguised as a monk and merely reside there and in Viterbo, while in the Holy City itself he was robbed, murdered and entrenched.

The new pope and the future king, both calculating cold natures, came from the same climes, but did not like each other, even though they used each other without making a secret of their differences. Especially since Karl's behavior was of the utmost despicability. However, his plans and his quest for power captivated him too much to be particularly concerned about the Pope, his erstwhile inferior.

J<enfaĺls, they finally concluded the Sicilian trade. "The nerve of the enterprise was money" (Grego-

Charles signed what the pope wanted, but didn't give a damn. He assigned his army to the land route and arrived himself, favored by all kinds of coincidences - which often make more history than one would like to believe - with about 4o ships and i yoo men, but without horses, on zı. The Sicilian-Pisan fleet crossing between Marseille and the central Italian coast appeared too late to prevent his landing. Clemens Hi kani not at all. However, after a good papal branch, he taxed almost the whole of Europe, and four car- dinals pledged the Angiovine as instructed on z8. June zz65 in the Basilica of St. John Lateran with the Sicilian kingdom.

Not only had Pope Clement not come to Rome, but no more money had come either; neither from him nor from the French church, which was supposed to finance Charles' raid as a whole. However, the incoming church tithes had already been swallowed up by the French under the cardinal legate Simon de Brion, the late **Pope** Martin IV, a Frenchman who had once been "chancellor" and Grand Duke of Rome.

In Rome, however, the knights and crossbowmen of Anjou consumed an estimated thousand florins and more { i aoo Turonian pounds) day after day, so that Charles, dei; to the Pope's displeasure, "against all propriety", domiciled in the Lateran Palace, where his vicar Gantelmi had already robbed and emptied the treasury, constantly d e m a n d e d money, his wife pawned her jewels and the Holy Father pressed the legal collector in France to use every compulsion to spare no one.

Clemens also appealed ever more urgently to St. King Louis: - Have mercy on your brother, help the Christian people!" Nothing helped. - My treasury is completely empty," he complained to Ariyou himself and laid out his misfortune before him: -England resists, Germany will not obey, France sighs and grumbles, Spain has enough to do with itself, Italy does not pay but devours.- Clement unceremoniously delogued Charles from the Lateran ("Look for your home elsewhere in the city ..."), he pawned the revenues of the Roman churches, even his own church treasury, and ran up debts to the merchants in Siena and Florence, who were draining him dry with high interest rates, and to the wealthy from Italy to southern France.

But even if St. St. Louis paid nothing for the crossroads, the religious war, as which the pope spent and even popularized the conquest of the southern Hohenstaufen empire, the invasion of Manfred, the sultan of Lucera, the godless heathen, the poison-swollen spawn of a dragon of poisonous lineage, Louis preached, the saint preached in favor of the new great villain, preached like the papal legate and the papal mendicants.

Finally, in June, the army of God, as it was called, set out, including Bishop Gui de Beaulieu of Auxerre, Archbishop Bertrand of Narbonne and many others with illustrious and illustrious names, were rapacious warriors, intent on nothing more than money and possessions, on booty, booty under the sign of the cross.

It passed almost unhindered through Lombardy, where the cross had also been preached and every follower of Manfred had been denounced as a heretic. And it proved its legitimacy through vicious devastation, atrocities of all kinds; also by stabbing all the inhabitants, including all the women and *children,* without exception, in a small town that had howled a little chivalrously at a French knight - a Lidice before Lidice. But - wasn't it God's will? Was it not at least authorized by God? Not a trifle next to his own glorious biblical deeds? -As I live forever ... I will take vengeance on my enemies ... I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh with the blood of the slain and the captives ..." "You shall not leave a soul alive ... - (I7 3 ff.!)$z

After seven months, around the turn of the year i zö5/i aöö, the The army, torn down and without money, arrived in Rome, where Pope Clement w a s still nowhere to be seen, but five cardinals crowned Charles of Anjou king of Sicily on January 6. At the end of January, the army, with the usurper at its head, moved on, with the blessing of the cardinals and their absolution, accompanied to the border by the papal legate Octavian Ubaldini, as had been the case for some time. They invaded the Sicilian kingdom near Ceprano without touching the enemy until the aggressor fought his first battles at Rocca d'Arce and Cassino, the entire Terra di Lavoro joined him and Manfred, who had perhaps underestimated the danger, took up a position near Benevento, where the decisive battle was fought on the morning of February iz66. February iz66 the decisive battle began.

E i N£i LAUGH FOR THE POPE'S TU M .

Despite the night march of Charles's exhausted and starving army, he immediately drove them to attack, with Bishop Gui de Beaulicu and the battalion monks just off their stands, and at first it looked as if Manfred's Arab archers and German horsemen dominated the field, the only ones the king had to rely on.

nig, surrounded by traitors or already abandoned, could still be relied upon. Anjoii's army had already suffered heavy losses when he threw his reserve into the battle, whereupon Manfred also ordered his last contingent to the front. But the troops from the kingdom, including the Romans, Tuscans and Lombards, fled or had already fled, and the superior cavalry of the French, now undoubtedly the first military force in the western world, put an end to what was left.

For a whole day they had killed each other in good Christian fashion, shot, stabbed, beaten to death, spit on each other, the French had suffered no less losses, losses, losses, casualties, casualties, as it were, and in the evening there were 3ooo slaughtered. What does it matter! In Italy, however, the Hohenstaufen dynasty had been replaced by the Angiovin dynasty, one oppressive and murderous power had taken the place of the other. That's what counts! Vive la France? Vive le roi!

-After a fierce battle on both sides, the victor dictated a letter to the Pope that very evening, -with God's help we brought the first two battle lines of the enemy to the soft spot, whereupon the others all sought their salvation in flight. So great was the slaughter on the field that the corpses of the slain covered the face of the earth ... I report this great victory to Your Holiness so that you may give thanks to the Almighty, who bestowed it and through my arm champions the cause of the Church.

Manfred had perished in the midst of the greatest commotion and was only found the next day. Charles had buried him, he wrote to the Pope, "moved by the feelings of nature ..., with honor, but not in an ecclesiastical manner, and had him covered with stones at Calore Bridge in Benevento and had a cross placed on top. Pope Clement found this inappropriate for a

-heretic-, especially on ecclesiastical soil. So Archbishop Pignatelli of Gosenza left the -stinking corpse of the pestilent man-, as the Holy Father also called him, to rot elsewhere, on the banks of the border river Verde, exposed to all weathers

-dragged back and forth by the wind and rain outside- on the verde bank, as even Dante, the church faithful, remarks rniBlastingly.

The rest of the family, prevented from escaping by an ancient sea and then betrayed by mendicant monks, were taken care of by their successor. Only Manfred's daughter Beatrix was freed by a naval victory of the Aragonese after eighteen years of imprisonment in the Castle del Uovo at Meapel. The others, Manfred's beautiful young widow Helena of Epirus and her three sons Frederick, Azzolino and Henry, all still small children and publicly declared dead, died chained in the dungeon, the last of them Henry i3 i8 in Naples after yz years in prison.

Viye Ie roi!

After the Battle of Benevento, which not only decided the fate of a kingdom, but also put France further on the path to supremacy in Europe, as the Battle of Bouvines had already done, even Pope Clement was satisfied with the victor, nay, disenchanted. He had all the bells of Perugia tolled and saw "the horns of the sinners broken" throughout the land and a golden age of bliss approaching. However, his euphoria did not last long. Then the complaints began again about the king, who called himself a champion of God, but whose soldiery, immediately after the battle, despite a procession of priests pleading with them, attacked Benevento women and church property, indeed, in the city of the popes, well-disposed towards the victors, indiscriminately slaughtered the citizens for eight days, as if they wanted to repeat their fathers' and forefathers' atrocities of Béziers. Just as Charles' Marshal Jean de Braiselve had had the entire Ghibelline garrison **thrown** over the blade after the capture of S. Ellero near Florence. The pope expressed his displeasure and protest and also saw Charles' tax policy as a burden on the church; he remained indebted to it for ever. His officials, Clement rebuked, stole from and robbed the people. In general, he exercised a merciless regiment, a reign of terror, so that an uprising in Sicily in the fall of i a67 '>>he gained more support and in the end only Palermo, Messina and Syracuse were still under his control.

... AND THE SECOND SECTOR FOR THE PxPSTTUM NEB ST KARLS ESB OTS CHA FT

However, as Clement's fate depended considerably on the Provençal, he had to cooperate with him, especially as a new danger was already looming: Conrad IV's son, the young Xonradin, the last legitimate Hohenstaufen who had an undeniable right of inheritance to the empire that the popes and Angiovines were trying to rob from him. This was reason enough to defame the future victim in the tried and tested tone of the Holy Fathers. Thus Clement wrote on io. April i* 7 to the Florentines:

-A poisonous basilisk has emerged from the dragon's tribe,
which already fills Tuscany with its pestilence; he sends a breed of serpents, men of destruction, our and the va- cant empire's like the illustrious King Charles traitors, the genosses of his plans, to cities and nobles; with a fine art of lying he boasts in the pomp of tinsel" etc.

The young Conradin, however, the -idol-, as the pope mocked, - this shameful idol-, moved, encouraged by the Sicilian Hohenstaufen party, by Lower Italian exiles, the opposition in the ecclesiastical state, Florentine Ghibellines, the imperial party of Upper Italy, on September 8th from Augsburg via the Brenner Pass to Bolzano, Trento, from which the anti-Staufer bishop Egno was expelled. September iaöy from Augsburg via the Brenner Pass to Bolzano, Trento, from which the anti-Staufer bishop Egno had been expelled, to Verona.

However, the German army led by the knowledgeable Konrad Kroff von Ftüglingen, a Bavarian count, was not powerful and had to march through mostly hostile territories. Conradin lacked powerful fiefs after his uncle Louis II of Bavaria, his stepfather Count Meinhard II of Gorizia and Tyrol and his ambitious friend Count Rudolf of Habsburg retired from the risky campaign. 5They, who had first advised Konradin, left for Verona and returned home. Rudolf of Habsburg became >73 German king, whose
friend Meinhard II. through him iz86 Duke of Carinthia, and
Louis II. -the Strict (because he had convicted his wife of infidelity).

first wife Marie of Brabant had her head cut off) painted

As Konradin's heir, he received great territorial gains, his own property Burgers, bailiwicks such as Hersbruck, Vilseck, Augsburg, Füssen and others. To atone for the somewhat hasty beheading of his wife, in order to do justice to the saintly duke, he established the Fürstenfeld monastery. Because for certain offenses, great people often made astonishing donations. For example, a count of Rothenburg, who had burned a whole bunch of starving people, built the Deutz monastery as a penance. You can imagine how grateful the church was for rich, generous sinners.

On November 8, iz67, Pope Clement excommunicated Stouter along with his high followers in Germany and Italy. He threatened thin with the loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem and finally called for a crusade against him. Conradin, whose army still consisted of around 3OOO p r i n c e s after the return of the deuuch princes, left Verona in mid-January ia68 and advanced to Rome via the cities of Pavia, Pisa and Siena, which were his friends and supporters, where he was met in km *4 July by Henry -el Senador", a son of King Ferdinand HI of Castile-León, on his mother's side a Staufer- was triumphantly received. Henry, only ex-communicated by the pope on ş. He had already been cheated out of enormous sums of money by his cousin KarÍ, whom he had helped to rob Sicily, and now moved on with Conradin.

-With a black and white foot
an daz lant zo Pulle.
with inn o auch dbe hervart vor
von Rome eyn senatoz,
dhes koninghes brudhec von KastelÍe, und
anderes volkes me dan ich zelle,
Dhudeschen, Lumbarte und Romere ... '

In the meantime, the kingdom was seething, even among the Saracens of Lucera, because of the arbitrariness and harshness of the new lord. A troop of Charles had also been destroyed in Amotal, his marshal Jean de Braisel- ve had been taken prisoner and Confadin's force h a d b e e n considerably strengthened by the uprising, German 5öldnez, Italian GhibelÍines and Henry's heavily armored cavalry, while

Pope Clement was eagerly waiting to "force the iron necks of the rebels into an even yoke".

He was soon able to do so, although he himself found the yoke somewhat hard. Charles had spent almost the whole of April as his guest in Viterbo, later besieging Lucera's mutinous Muslims for a long time, but in vain, then following his opponent's advance at a measured distance, blocking his way to Lucera until he had the best chance to attack in the plain east of Tagliacozzo. His own troops, about sooo Frenchmen, Provençals and Italian Guelphs, were smaller but better armed, less scattered and also more experienced in battle than the enemy, who on the morning o f a3. On the morning of August 3rd, before the battle, he cut the captured marshal Jean de Braiselve a head shorter; just in case, and perhaps as a small stimulant for the battle that was about to begin.

Thanks in particular to Henry's Spanish armored cavalry, it appeared to be won by Conradin - who, being too young, did not actively intervene - after only a short time. Charlemagne's Italian com- petitors had already been chased away, and the French were also apparently defeated, so that victory was considered certain, many German lords had already left their saddles and - what a chivalrous attitude, what high-minded action!

- They mauled corpses, greedily preyed on the dead, the defenseless ... But stealing, plundering, plundering land, exploiting and slaughtering people, what else would have made the nobility more noble, apart from the phrases that accompanied the whole thing and, mutatis mutandis, still accompany it today? (I would like to point out that as a soldier in the Second World War, I myself witnessed the mangling of corpses in Italy and even met a "comrade" who was active in this way later on - as Juweliez).

Almost exactly a century before the meeting at Ta- gliacozzo, the Lodeser Anonymus {?) of the warriors in Frederick Barbarossa's army that -fasr alle- {fere omnes), -bishops as well as counts, margraves and other clerics and laymen lived more from what was robbed from others or taken away by force than from their own means - (magis ex rebus aliis raptis et vi ablatis quam ex suis propriis quotidie vivebant). And whence the -ei-

means? But while the Staufer's noble band of knights sought to increase their income and honor in the bloody dirt, Charles, who had thought he was already dead, watched everything from a hill and, according to a Guelph chronicler, had just tearfully implored the Madonna, emerged from ambush with his reserve hidden in a hollow in the ground and initiated the turnaround.

Yes, always have something up your sleeve! - The Madonna alone is not enough. Nor the whole Trinity. The Pope still had the bankers. And he had Karl. And Karl still had his -core trup- pe. And the ambush. The ambush also makes history. The ambush in general. Above all.

Approximately"4 OO people lay on the battlefield that evening, miserably dead, the majority presumably Provençals and French. However, Charles I of Anjou enthusiastically reported to the Pope on the same day that the number of casualties exceeded that of Bene vent. -The message of freedom, which all the faithful of the world have longed for so long, I now offer you, Holy Father, like holy smoke, and I ask you: Vateq arise and eBt from the hunting game of your Son "

Yes, style as a mirror of no beautiful soul zwat; but of a high, a highly placed, highest one. And after the king, Louis the Saint's brother, had reported to the Holy Father the result of thousands of shamefully slaughtered people as a message of joy and had the stench of blood and decay from the slaughtered tents tickle his papal nose as "incense", yes, he offered him the slain enemies as a delicious dish, tastefully served up as "hunting game", he also remembered the holy church. He a s k e d " our mother" to r i s e, -to the jubilant praise of the Almighty, who gave her such a great victory through his fighter – . similarly, he had already
after the Benevento mass murder let the -holiness- know immediately that the -Almighty ... defends the cause of the Church through my arm " . And gratefully built near your place of slaughter
The town has a Cistercian abbey, S. Maria della Victoria.

But the victory, the horror and the atrocities, all this was enough for the

The High Priest and his community of saints do not protect and glimmer. And so the Pope recently appointed him "restorer of peace" {"peacemaking measures") in Tuscany, cut off the feet of many prisoners and then, to spare the Christian world (once - as today - not so sensitive after all) the sight of them, tactfully burned all the mutilated behind the walls of a building. A man of nobility, high nobility. And rarely did he show so much decency.

He soon ordered a number of the captured barons to be publicly executed. Among them was Conrad's chamberlain for the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Sicily, Thomas Aquino. Among them was Count Galvano Lancia, who was most frequently arrested and who had fought against him as Manfred's general and a combatant of Conrad; however, he was only executed after his son Galiotto had been strangled in his father's arms. And finally - after another escape marked by unfortunate accidents - on aq. October i z68, in the Piazza del Mercato, the marketplace of Naples, the head of the last Hohenstaufen, a child, and a number of heads of his friends - "a part of noble lords" - fell on the scaffold in the &i- being of the usurper; a foregone conclusion from the beginning of their trial.

At the papal court in Viterbo, St. Thomas Aquinas wrote his, according to one Catholic, "magnificent treatise on the rule and reward of kings": -On the Reign and Reward of Kings".-°

The year after the show trial, King Charles also had Conrad**'s** half-brother of the same name and age, an illegitimate son **of Conrad IV,** liquidated **in** Lucera, not by the axe this time, but by hanging. In Rome, over which Anjou ruled as a senator, his vicars soon brought two hundred robbers to the gallows. For, exceptions aside, in his time, too, the saying was always followed: "The little ones are hanged ... When Guido of Montfort, governor of Tuscany, who was highly esteemed and rewarded by Charles, killed the English prince Henry, Richard of Cornwall's young son, in Viterbo in March *7* out of blood revenge.
when, in the presence of several kings and **cardinals,** he murdered the
completely guiltless in front of the altar, whereby two witnesses

priest was killed when he dragged the prince's body by the hair and threw it over the church steps.

murderer was never punished for this - twelve years later, however, a pope elevated him to the rank of general in the ecclesiastical service

i o. CHAPTER

THE HABSBURGS ARE COMING

-I anchor my hopes firmly in you and fall down at the feet of Your Holiness, imploring you to support me in my assumed duty with benevolent favor and to bestow the imperial diadem upon me with a hatful.

-He was a pious man in personality and had only one eye and even an unhospitable attitude. He was even very much after God, so that he did not harm the empire, if he did not have his own chins, which he had many." Saxon Chronicle. First Bavarian **continuation,** about Albrecht I, son of Rudolf*

-Because they are always after money. To get money, they hire themselves out today to the King of France, tomorrow to the King of England, the day after tomorrow to the Lord of Milan and the day after tomorrow to the Republic of Venice. It has even happened - the evidence is documented in the Paris archives - that an entire coalition of West German princes, led by King Adolf of Nassau, abandoned the King of England in breach of their oaths and despite having received a hitfsgctder when the Frenchman paid more ... In such **acts** - the examples could be multiplied - the one thing is expressed again and again: the princes are only interested in their own affairs and their personal advantage; the whole and its welfare are of no concern to them." - Johannes Haller'

RuOrF oF HABSBURG
STоRTS TO THE POPE FOR FÜ
SSEN

The Jesuit Hertling writes about the popes in the last decades of the -3 century: "All these popes were highly worthy men, some of them are venerated as saints.
According to historian Seidlmayer, however, the popes were almost constantly engaged in a bloody battle with their own minors during this decade. But perhaps this is not a contradiction in terms.

Clement N. died in Viterbo in 1968, and it took almost three years, the longest vacancy in almost a millennium, before the Holy Spirit finally allowed the deeply divided cardinals to find the new Vicar of Christ, with the help of a starvation cure threatened by angry fathers. The Liège archdeacon Tedald from Piacenza's Visconti family was told that he was currently still fighting for God's kingdom at a crossroads in Palestine and would then join Gregory X. (**7*- y6).

Hertling was not the only one to regard him as "an excellent **pope";** he has an almost universal reputation as a just, unselfish man. As usual, he provided his relatives with lucrative positions in the curial bureaucracy and in the Papal States and created two nephews and his personal physician as cardinals. And at least one more example may shed light on the excellent man, the restitution of Archbishop Henry of TrieE

On the **Moselle,** two rivals lay claim to the time-honored chair. To his great advantage, Alexander IV lets them clash for two years and then passes over both of them. Instead of them, the dean of Metz, Heinrich von Finstingen, becomes archbishop.

bishop, as he promises the pope repayment of the enormous debts to the fighting clan. The new overlord immediately threw himself into all kinds of military action, devastating St. Matthias Abbey to such an extent that its monks were almost burned alive. Archbishop Henry is accused of simony, perjury and manslaughter. Urban IV commissions the bishops of Worms, Speyer and the abbot of Rodenkirchen to investigate the case. The archbishop confirms them, the investigation is not carried out. i z6z Urban sends a further commission, two Franciscans under threat of excommunication, and orders them to investigate the matter. But their own superiors forbade this on pain of imprisonment. They are happy to save their lives by fleeing. Now Clement IV pronounces the suspension of the trie- rer. However, the dispute dragged on for years until i zyz. Henry then regained the bishopric, without any conclusion to the case: he had paid Gregory's chamber the huge sum of 33 ooo marks of silver - and what's more, he was still wealthy enough to attend the Habsburg's coronation with a retinue of thoo armed men.

Albert **Hauck** already noted that the curial administration under Gregory X was no better than under his predecessors.

The same applies to his often praised love of peace. Like so many Holy Fathers, Gregory also sought peace in order to be able to wage war. He had been informed of his appointment as pope as a crusader and remained a crusader thereafter: "the last crusading pope - although crusades were still being led in the second century. Crusades were still being led in the twelfth century. Gregory's first official **act** was an appeal in favor of the crusaders in Syria. Inside Wintflf *73 he had proposals made for a more popular crusade propaganda. And also at the Council of Lyon i -74 he came up with his favorite idea. He had invited thirteen kings, one of whom came, James of Aragon, "a boastful old sabbatarian". He was really interested. But Gregor's Plans were too unworldly for him: no Christian ship was to call at a Muslim port for six years. And a new crusade could hardly make it more attractive. During his

He wanted nothing more than the armed Oriendahrt for his entire regiment, and until his death he dictated letter after letter to get it - all in vain.

The pope (Kühner), who was "only concerned with peace and reconciliation" and had only been ordained a priest in Rome a few days before his elevation, also sought to promote his war plan through a new Teutonic prince, whose election as king he successfully pursued, but whose coronation as emperor was denied him by his early death.

**7* -r Richard of Cornwall, one of the two rivals for the German throne, died, and Alfonso of Castile demanded from Gregory's recognition as Roman king and his coronation as Caesar {It was also the year in which the last living son of Frederick II, Enzio of Sardinia, who resembled him in appearance, education and valor, was crowned in the Bolognese -Pa1azzo di re Enio-, King Enzio of Sardinia, who resembled him in appearance and character and was praised as beautiful, educated and brave, died in the Bolognese -Pa1azzo di re Enio-, as the house is still called today, after more than a year in prison and many melancholy verses - still inspiring Italy's great lyricist Giovanni Pas- coli to write his "Canzoni di Re Enzo").

During the VakailZ I*7Z/I*73 Gregory X had secretly contacted the German electors, with a college to which the active right to elect kings had been limited in the i 3rd century. October izy3 in Frankfurt under the leadership of Werner von Eppstein, the head of the church in Mainz, after some wavering unanimously - but against the Bohemian electoral vote - Rudolf, Count of Habsburg and Landgrave of Alsace, was elected king; and on October z4 . he was received in Aachen Minster by the Archbishop of Cologne Engel- bert II, Count of Cleves, anointed and crowned.

Despite papal favor, he was a less than fortunate prince, constantly in a battle for the city's supremacy with his own diocesans, who imprisoned him i a63, but also in feuds with territorial lords in the surrounding area, in particular with the count ofJ ich. And he also imprisoned Engelbert {after the Battle of Zül- pich) i a67 until i z7 i ltuf Burg Nideggen, after which i zy8 hei-

Count Wilhelm von Jülich and two of his sons in Aachen.
and the succeeding Bishop of Cologne the city of Jülich -

for the first time by a predecessor already i zjq destroyed - nOch once.

Why the Habsburg was chosen is controversial. But why should Otakar's accusation that the princes had o p t e d for the weaker pretender to the throne out of self-interest be "unobjective"? Was this the first time that a more energetic ruler had been preferred to a more comfortable one? The lords usually put their egoism above everything else. A "little king" could only be welcome to them.

Like his father Count Albrecht IV, who died on a crusade, Rudolf of Habsburg {the family can be traced back to the io. century), he had been an unwavering follower of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, despite being banned twice. Frederick II would have lifted him out of the dove, later he sometimes stayed at the regent's court in Italy, also received benefits from his son Conrad IV and accompanied his grandson Conradin as far as Verona, upholding their principles until the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Immediately after his enthronement, however, he declared to the Pope: -I place my hopes firmly in you and prostrate myself at the feet of your holiness, imploring you to assist me in my assumed position with benevolent favor and to graciously grant me the imperial diadem.

Rudolf soon swore through his chancellor to the promises already made to the Curia by earlier emperors, Otto IV and Frederick II, and to never encroach on the territory of the popes and their vassals, especially Charles of Anjou. The act of swearing took place at the Second Council of LFo "*74, which was attended by over zyo bishops known by name. The envoys of Alfonso X the Wise of Castile (ia5Z-IZ8q), the other pretender to the throne, were rejected, while those of the now crowned Rudolf were attentively received. The k i n g was needed for the planned great crusade, at the head of which he was to stand as emperor and patron of Western Christians. The "subsidium Terrae Sanctae", the -passagium genera1e- was, as always, the main concern of the Holy Father, who himself was to go to war, which was so much in demand, even conquering Mongolia.

The Mongolian Ilkhane Empire was to fight the Sultan Baibar of Egypt (iz6o-izyy), who was harassing the Crusader states.

The Pope certainly expected the Habsburg's election not only to help the crusade, but also to strengthen his own position against the constantly growing power of Anjou in central and northern Italy. The Provençal could rely on his senatorial office in Rome as well as the title of imperial vicar in Tuscany. But if his ambitions went beyond this, he sought a great empire in the eastern Mediterranean, above all the conquest of Byzantium, against which he had been fighting for years.

stete. Since zy. MEI i* 7 he also had secret treaties with Cai- ser Baldwin, who ceded the principality of Achaia to him in return for the provision of zooo knights "within seclis or seven years" for the He promised to take Constantinople, a promise that the Angiovine had not yet fulfilled at the time of his death. Various marriages between his children and allies, including the monarch of Hungary, were also in the service of this eastern policy. And I*7* rde Karl King of Albania.'

However, Anjou's plans for aggression were incompatible with Gregory's own political projects, especially his crusade plans and the church union, which he had always sought in vain since the schism iOi4. However, he came to an agreement with Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (iz5q-iz8z), who sought to thwart Charles' dreams of Constantinople. However, if unity with the Greek Church was at least briefly and formally established at the Council of Lyon despite Charles' reluctance, and the recognition of the Roman creed and Roman primacy was achieved {although the protesting Patriarch Joseph and confessor of the emperor was banished to the Black Sea), Gregor's hopes for the crusade and Rudolf's imperial coronation remained unfulfilled.

A long-planned meeting between the two took place in Lausanne on the Pope's return journey from Lyon in October. Here, the Habsburg himself once again solemnly promised under oath to secure and restore all the privileges and possessions of the Curia.

Ien, promised it financial support even if it became embroiled in wars on his account, as well as freedom of bisciiof elections and appeals to Rome. And of course he ruled out any unification of the non-Italian regency with the empire forever. Since Rudolf, after repeated postponements, was now finally to be crowned emperor on February a, zsy6 (with payment of the travel costs by the pope, in ooo marks, whereupon the H a b s b u r g "-schamrot", he says himself, asked for a further jooo marks), since Rudolf, together with the princes and knights present, also immediately took da8 creun, Gregory may have been in good spirits when he moved on to Rome via the Alps.but he died after an attack of fever on
io. January izy6 in Arezzo, where his tomb still stands in the cathedral today.

Nixo out III AND DRR NEPOTI SMUS

The next popes, who only reigned for a short time, more or less favored Charles of Anjou.

Innocent V (zi. January-aa. June i a7 6), previously Pierre de Ta- rentaise from the diocese of Lyon, the first Dominican pope, en-
was so quickly and strongly committed to the Angiovine and so resolutely against Rudolf that his grateful friend had a porphyry tomb built for him in the Lnteran basilica. Nevertheless, the following conclave in Mom, the participants of which were massively influenced by Charles, did not produce a Gaul but Hadfiari V {i i. July-x8. August *7 J. He was a nephew of Innozeriz lV,
who also made him a cardinal, and through his greed
notorious for bribery. But Gleis, who had not even been consecrated a priest, died after a few weeks. And John XXI (September 8, iay6-ao. May i•77i was not a Frenchman, but the only Portuguese among the popes. Formerly a scholar and personal physician to Gregory X, he now struggled to find a new crossroads and, before the collapsing ceiling of his studio in Viterbo struck him down, carefully steered his

way back to Gregory's politics,

his successor after a vacancy of at least six years.
months, much more resolutely forJulir-

Nicholas III { iz77 -iz8o), hitherto Giovanni Caetano Orsini, usually compared to Innocent III despite his short pontificate, had served under eight popes and elected seven popes. At the time of Urban IV, he held the office of Grand Inquisitor, which particularly recommended him, and he also knew his business in other respects. He deprived Charles of Anjou of his senatorial office in Rome,
for the imperial vicariate in Tuscany, and he received Romagna from Rudolf of Habsburg. He sent old imperial charters to Germany, copied texts from diplomas of Louis the Pious, Otto 1st, Henry II - the most famous gift (>*4 chap.)
was unfortunately missing - and Rudolf gave, without any authenticity check, old
Imperial rights and lands.

As a cardinal, Giovanni Caetano Orsini is said to have lived an honorable life - "it is said," adds the Florentine Giovanni Villani, who died of the plague at• i 4 , not without some scepticism, "that he had the young people of the city in his hands.
the fertility of his body. However, nothing similar is recorded of any of the other highest hierarchs." However, Nicholas III, who was the first pope to reside in the Vatican Palace, which he rebuilt and enlarged, also had his weaknesses. He spent a lot of Christianity's money on buildings, pomp and expense and, *of all things, he was* once again *very* concerned about *his own* clientele. *Thus he appointed* two younger relatives and his brother Jordan Orsini as cardinals, his brother Matreo Rosso Orsini as senator, his nephew Latino Malabranca as legate, his nephew Ursus as rector of Tuscia, his nephew Berthold as the first governor of Romagna, for centuries a part of imperial syria. The last pope to bequeath entire principalities to his nephews at the expense of the Papal States is said to have been Innocent III, which is not that far back. But while a contemporary chronicler praises Nicholas IH. for having had no equal on earth without nepotism, Dante puts him among the Simonists of hell because of his greed for gold.'°

Nepotism has always existed in Christianity, right from the start, long before there was a church, already in the family of Jesus. And

this

The clerical variety of charity flourished throughout antiquity (III ¢qg f.), was rampant throughout the Middle Ages and far beyond.

At the seat of the pope, in other bishoprics, a determined policy of kinship was pursued for centuries. At times, in the xo. Century, almost universally, provided their noble mongrels lavishly with church goods. And above all, the bishoprics themselves and their dioceses often fell into disrepair for many decades.

In the hands of certain feudal families, they were regarded as a piece of family rule. The Salians usually occupied the Würzburg bishop's pulpit with their relatives. The Streussliners provided three archbishops and three bishops in just under three generations. Occasionally it even seemed as if the papal throne was regarded as an heirloom; at least the epitaph of Sergius III, certainly a special case, pope and double murderer of two popes (V '7 ff.!), speaks of his -Yaterrechr
on the apostolic dignity- i in this case, indeed, especially dignified.
dig.

In monasteries, too, the rank of abbot was often passed down from uncle to nephew. The phenomenon even flourished in "heretic" circles. Among the Nestorians, for example, nepotism was almost impossible to eradicate and lasted until the iq. century. And among the popes, it lasted - most outrageously in the case of Pius XII and his family, which was ruled by Mussolini - until well into the 19th century. Century.

Not everyone, to be fair, aspired to the next
Near the Sedes Apostolica. When Nicholas flI. gave the former Franciscan general John of Parma - he was -7 7 beatified (despite a "heretic" trial once held against him) - the cardinal's
nal hat to secure his advice, he declined with thanks: -I could only give good advice if there were people who would listen to me; but in the Roman Curia there is only talk of wars and triumphs, not of the salvation of souls.

THE " PRANC OSIAN" T HE ÉÂ PSTE AND T HE SIC I LIAN VE SPER

Nicholas III's agreements with Rudolf of Habsburg had strengthened the papacy and weakened Charles of Anjou, who now saw himself once again confined to the southern Italian kingdom. And when Nicholas succumbed to a stroke on August zz. i z8o, in a cauldron illegally given to his nephew Ursus, there was unrest in Rome and a tumultuous papal election in Viterbo, which dragged on for six months with haggling and bargaining. However, it was only when Charles's confidant Richard Annibaldi, once a comrade-in-arms of Conradin's during the day of Jiacozzo, tore two Orsini cardinals, nephews of the deceased pope, from the college assembled in the bishop's palace by force of arms with his henchmen and put them behind bars under negotiation, and also prevented another Orsini cardinal from taking part, that he received the head of the church who was agreeable to Charles: the Frenchman Simon de Brie (or Brion), who as legate of Urban fV. and Clement IV in France, had prepared the Angio-Venetian seizure of power in the southern Italian regency.

Now Martin IV. {x z8 x-x z8 y), usually residing in Orvieto due to his conflicts with the Romans, was of course even more the man of the king¡ yes eq who had initiated his usurpation, opened the way for him to Italy, became the most Francoist pope of the century and a decided German-hater. In terms of foreign policy, he promoted Charles's projected reconquest of Constantinople, a war that was to begin in May iz8x after major armaments. Against Charles's main enemy, Peter III of Aragon, he hurled his banshees and deployed all his church powers. And in terms of domestic policy, he restored to Anjou the senatorial power in Rome that Nicholas III had just taken away from him.

Charlemagne's power grew throughout the country. Provençals and Frenchmen ruled from Palermo to the Po. They themselves were very powerful, richly endowed with goods and fiefs, subjugated the people and threatened the freedom of the cities. The castelani, the co-inquisitors of the castles, mostly French knights, harassed the people with their occupation.

The king often committed the most unbridled excesses. Even in the Papal States, Martin gave the king a largely free hand, Sicilian garrisons moved into the Patrimony, and bloody clashes with Ghibellines followed in the Ro- **magna."**

The "mala signoria" of Anjou quickly became apparent. From the outset, he had i'pots rolling and hunted down Conradin's supporters. During the conquest of Lucera on >7 August i z6q, few Saracens were killed, but many, most of them Christians. Even strictly ecclesiastical circles, even declared Guelphs, turned all-
against the king. Charles' terror was also sharply rebuked at the Lyon Xoncil. And while his foreign policy finally stabilized, the problems at home grew, the harassing occupation policy, the Angiovinian fiscal policy that harshly exploited the country and its people, and finally the pent-up foreigner's anger erupted in a huge explosion, so that Anjou was no longer able to begin a campaign planned for April 1983, which Pope Martin kindly declared to be a military campaign.

It was on 3i. March r z8z, on Easter Monday, during a grand shore excursion to celebrate the consecration of the monastery of Santo Spirito near Palermo at the time of vespers French soldiers harassed Sicilian women, and while intercepting a beauty for a hidden dagger, father and husband stabbed a wrestler to death The murder quickly degenerated into a massacre of the Gallic **warriors.** Then the carnage spread to the French inhabitants of Palermo, all of whom were massacred regardless of age or gender, including islanders impregnated by occupying troops. Within a month, the whole island was in turmoil. In Catania 8ooo, in Messina, although guelfish oriented, 3ooo, a total of -4 oOo -U1tramontani" are said to have been murdered.'

The bloodbath, the Sicilian Vespers, hardly conceivable without the policy of the (French} popes, was by no means, as older historians often claim, an expression of mere spontaneous popular rage, just an early national revolt against French foreign rule. Rather, it was noblemen, mostly "aristocratic upstarts", who led the uprising,

was preceded by conspiratorial and agent activity on a large scale" (Herde).

The activities were directed by King Peter III "el Gran" of Aragon {Iz4 I Z8ş) and his various allies, including the Byzantine emperor Michael Vlfl, who financed him because he was threatened by KarÍ, and Sicilian dissidents. A key figure in the anti-Angiovinian actions was the Salernitan and highly respected physician Giovanni da Procida, a confidant of Frederick II, whose will bore his name. Procida had already fought with Manfred at Benevento, with Conradin at TagÍiacozzo, and after the latter's death he tried in vain to encourage the last male Hohenstaufen, Frederick I Margrave of MeiBen and Landgrave of Thuringia, to fight for the Sicilian throne. In the end, Procida remained at the Aragonese court, where King Peter had been married to Constance, King Manfred's hereditary daughter, since the end of the century.

Using the revolution, Peter also got the island into the Hand. Pretending to wage war against the Mohammedans of Tunisia, he had armed himself, set up an expeditionary force of more than 10,000 men and, in order to deceive the pope, had asked him for a -crusade tithes", indeed, even asked Anjou for financial aid. both in vain. Although Peter was also interested in North Africa, his real goal was Sicily. And when Charles attacked Tandem and Messina there in July, the Aragonese, summoned by the Sicilians, crossed from North Africa to Trapani at the end of August, was greeted enthusiastically in Palermo on September 4 and arrived in Messina on October 1, where Charles abandoned the siege and returned to the mainland. He had lost Sicily forever.

However, while the spectacle of a duel between Charles and Peter near Bordeaux, which had been scheduled for the first of July and was eagerly awaited by the whole of chivalrous Europe, turned into an embarrassing farce, because both, each with a hundred knights, apparently deliberately missed each other by a few hours on the dueling field, whereupon each claimed victory.

ner recognized as cowardly, something else between Anjou and Ara- gón came about: -a ruinous twenty-year war covering the entire western Mediterranean region" {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche); Fürstenkomiidie und Viilkertragodie ...'-

The Sicilians, who had freed themselves from the Angiovinese yoke with their great battle feast and murdered or expelled all the French on the island, now chose Charles' most compliant instrument, Pope Martin IV, as their patron with unerring instinct. But the Pope, blindly devoted to the despot, rejected their request, demanded strict submission and assured Charles of every assistance in reclaiming the rebel land. And if he had already banished the Byzantine Basiĺeus as a schismatic, he also excommunicated Peter of Aragóri when he accepted the Sicilian crown, deposed him and had the church preach against him.

But Charles' power was broken. He had not only lost Sicily loren, including Calabria, and large parts of the mainland also renounced it. In Forlí, under Count Guido Montefeltro, Capita- no di guerra e del popolo, resolutely anti-epostal, two thousand Frenchmen were killed as early as i. May ia8z two thousand Frenchmen. In Rome, the Capitol was stormed in January za84, the French occupation was liquidated and a popular regiment was deployed. However, in the same year, the Pope also raised funds to finance another war and preached the crusade against the Aragonese. In the same year, Charles marched south with a strong force and besieged Reggio, albeit in vain. In the same year, the Aragonese ad- miral Roger de Lauria (Lluria), a -seamanic genius- {Bresc), a brutal slave hunter, massacred the Provençal and Neapolitan fleets of the Angevins at Malta, Nicotera and off Neapeĺ, bringing Prince Charles of Salerno, Charles I's son and heir, to power. Charles I's son and heir, fell into the power of King Peter, who as the Hohenstaufen heir now wore the crown of Manfred, which Charles had once stolen from him with such great energy. And in the following year, all three disappeared from the scene of history: Charles I of Anjou on y. January at Foggia, Pope Martin IV on z8. March in Perugia, Peter III "el Gran" on November i i in Vilafranca del Penedés.'-

PRO DOMO - O DER AUS Rai ciiscum
NACH Haus G UT

Meanwhile in Germany, Rudolf of Habsburg had come into conflict with the Bohemian king Otakar 11th Pfemysl (i z5 3-i z78) ul2d (since i ay i) Duke of Osrerreich, who ultimately ruled over an empire that stretched from the Erzgebirge mountains to Carinthia and the Adriatic, too much to be bearable for the Habsburgs, although Otakar's rule hardly affected anyone else in particular. He had been welcomed as a protector against the Hungarians in Austria, he particularly favored Vienna, but did not rule Styria and Carinthia from Prague and certainly did not force them to accept his rule.
foreign language, as he himself cultivated German poetry at his court.

Otakar was a grandson of the Hohenstaufen King Philip of Swabia (p. yq), had once led two crusades against the pagan Prussians in support of the Teutonic Order (p. i86 ff.) and was named as a pretender to the throne by the Archbishop of Cologne, Konrad von Hochstaden, when the city of Kö- nigsberg, founded at that time, was given its name in his honor.

However, the focus of his politics was not in the east, but in the Alpine region, in the former territories of the Babenbergs, to which his claim was strengthened by his marriage to Margaret of Babenberg, who had been repudiated after consolidating his reign. For Margaret, previously married to Frederick II's son Henry VII, was the daughter of Duke Leopold of Austria and played a considerable role in the struggle for the Babenberg inheritance.

Initially, the opposing kings Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile as well as the papal curia, the Bavarian episcopate and the archbishops of Salzburg also favored the aggressive policy of the Bohemian, but sooner or later they mostly went over to his opponent. At the election of Rudolph *7i as king, OtakaS himself, ambitious but not present, refused to vote for the Habsburg through Bishop Berthold of Bamberg, refused to pay homage to him and recognized his coronation, which others also did,

fri#drich of Thuringia, Count Palatine Ludwig and Count Siegfried of Anhalt, whereupon Rudolf did nothing to disempower his defeated but powerful rival, the "golden" king, who was rich in mining and trade.

In the name of the empire, Rudolf made so-called revindication claims against all of Otakar's Bohemian possessions. The encyclopedia of the co-religionist, more than twenty thousand pages of print, contains nothing but the reference under the keyword "Revindications": - Rudolf von Habsburg). He did not want anything back from the Bohemian, who was denied sufficient legal title to his land acquisitions, but everything, of course: for the "Empire". He created the legal conditions for this I z ą/I*75 at various court meetings in Nuremberg, Würzburg and Augsburg, encircled Otakar through alliances with Hungary and NÌederbayern, and imposed a treaty on his opponent on zą. June i zyy he imposed the imperial ban on his opponent and, although, according to the Kolmar Chronicle, he had only five inferior shillings in his coffers, he began the war the following year.

After a revolt of the nobility in Carinthia and Styria in September-7, the Habsburgs, well prepared militarily, attacked the disputed territories in the fall with an imperial army.
duchies of Bohemia in the southeast. In the Peace of Vienna, Otakar on z6. November i>7 *fMhabsburg Htȼrlager in front of the city, he lost almost all of his possessions, the "imperial fiefdoms" of Austria, Styria, Kăinten, Carniola, the Windische Mark, Pordenone and the Egerland, and retained only Bohemia and Moravia, his ancestral lands, as a
-Reichslehen", for which he had to pay feudal tribute to Rudolf.

Otakar w a s unable to come to terms with the huge loss,
On z6. August iay8 on the Marchfeld, mud ąo kilometers northeast of Wieri, to the Schłacht near Dürnkrut, which the Habsburgs, who had been defeated on horseback, probably only won through a small reserve under Konrad von Sumerau and the just-arriving reiter alliances of Ladislaus IV of Hungary (Kun László, I*7*- zqo); later excommunicated twice and killed. King Otakar

But not only did he succumb to the German-Hungarian superiority, he also lost his own life. He was beaten to death while fleeing, completely plundered, as it is said, by personal enemies, by a "revenge killing" of Austrian nobles - a "private murder"
thus again {cf. p7S '7

After the victory, which made the relatively poor Habsburgs rich in one fell swoop.
- While people in Austria, Styria and Carinthia were starving so horribly that they allegedly even devoured corpses (mortuorum hominum cadavera) -et alia, que nature abhominabilia sunt" -, Rudolf soon turned his eyes to Bohemia and Moravia, the traditional dominions of the Pfemyslideii, but then settled for a Habsburg-Pfemyslid double marriage: his youngest son, Rudölf II, married Agnes, the sh'estez of Wenceslas II, married Agnes, the *sh 'estez of* Wenceslas II, and this only son and successor of Otakar II, who was only eight years old, married Rudolf I's daughter Guta at the same time. daughter Guta. Even when Rudolf himself entered into a second marriage at the age of sixty-six with the beautiful fourteen-year-old Elisabeth, sister of Duke Robert II of Burgundy, son-in-law of Louis the Saint, political backgrounds played a role.'-.

However, it was not the marriage alliances that provided the actual solution, but the Habsburg revindications. Whilst Rudolf united his sons with the children of the defeated and killed opponent, which had something almost human about it, he took the duchies that had been taken from them. For: -he seems to have envisioned this acquisition (and not a union of the terminated fiefdoms with the imperial estate) from the outset and to have consistently striven for it", something: -for his own house" {Erkens), "the final acquisition of the land for his families (Handbuch der Europäischen Geschichte), an excellent basis for their further succession. The imperial estate thus became a household title, concepts, complexes that had probably not been mixed up over time by chance and had often become difficult to define; quite apart from the fact that the Habsburg revindications were less about really old imperial property than about property that had once belonged to the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

Initially, Rudolf's sons, the first-born Albrecht {I.)

and Rudolf the Younger, who had already renounced his rights in iz83 and died in izqo, took over the church fiefs vacated by Otakar's liquidation. Then in May iz8 i Albrecht, the future king, became -administrator over Austria and Steyr-. And in the following year, with the consent of the initially reluctant electors, Rudolf granted his sons the southeastern Dijkos, the former Babenberg dukedoms; the -heimgefallerien Reichslehen-, "zu gesam- ter Hand-. Rudolf became Lord of Carniola, the Margraviate and Portenati, Albrecht Duke of Austria and Steyc

Albrecht cracked down from the outset. For example, he wrested the two castles of Freinstein and Werfenstein, which had been granted to him by the king himself, from Konrad von Sumerau, who had helped his royal father win the decisive battle of x-7g as leader of the invading reserve (p. y 6z), by means of a formal war. He w a s similarly brutal and disregarded every right in other cases. Briefly, -Albrecht I's efforts to secure and increase his income, for which the revindication paragraph offered the most advantageous means, are clear enough. **Quite** originally, a contemporary suspected that the duke sought to extract as much as possible from the land in order to shift the surplus to the ancestral lands of his house" (Lhotsky).

Duke Albrecht was also personally brusque, unpleasant in human terms, and had lost an eye through medical intervention on November 5. November ixqy, he had lost an eye through medical intervention, which intensified the gloominess of his face. He met with rejection in Austria and Styria, and with resistance in Vienna, so that he had to subjugate the city iz88. i zqo the royal father also granted him Hungary as an imperial fief, which was reversed in the very next]ahr, not least because Pope Nicholas lV. called Hungary the property of the Roman Church (cf. VI zyq f.!).

After all, Rudolf had not only made his own family and the entire dynasty powerful and rich through his greedy grasping, but had also elevated them to the rank of princes of the realm, an exclusive circle that was first established in the I2nd century. Century and towards the end of which zz temporal and qm ecclesiastical princes of the empire were raised.

again an indication, by the way, of the modesty of the high clergy already admired off here, with abbots and abbesses, in all humility of course, already struggling to become "prin- cipes regni", - of the "riches prince".

Concerned about a good climate for his pro-domo policy, which occupied the regent for five years, from --76 to i x8 i, for the most part in Vienna, largely, not to say almost exclusively, he cooperated closely with the Catholic Church, to whose head he had already kowtowed so deeply at the outset

His most influential advisor and confidant was Hein- rich II of Isny, Franciscan chief shepherd of Basel, Archbishop of Mainz, who had already assisted Rudolf militarily and diplomatically in bringing Austria back into the empire and had also negotiated with Pope Gregory X about the imperial coronation. The masses stimulated the mendicant friars for the Habsburg, both French and Dominican; and he returned the favor by granting them property, tax exemptions, building permits, etc., and also donated and endowed a Dominican convent as thanks for his bloody victory over Otakar i-7; like Charles of Anjou after the slaughter at Tagliacozzo an abbey. And countless other Christian mass murderers did the same; but they did not wash themselves clean of the blood - they wanted to be immortalized with it!

It is understandable that contemporary historiography celebrates such a papal and clerical great as Rudolf of Habsburg as a "king of peace". He had (like his sonl committed himself to a ruthless territorial policy {Hessel), had bloodily defeated his Bohemian rival, had also struck one blow after another against so-called robber barons' seats, from Lake Zurich to Bingen, indeed, during a one-year stay in St. Peter's monastery in Erfurt, he allegedly destroyed 66 noble robber castles and other fortifications, which of course only proves his peacefulness. (Just as it proves that of the papacy when it preaches peace in order to be able to wage campaigns against the whole world, wars against pagans, Muslims, heretics and Catholics). For the rest

the Habsburgs, like all his peers, had practice in this kind of nest-busting, as he had robbed and set fire to the convent of the Magdalenerinnen outside Basel at night when he was still count.

Rudolf of Habsburg died of old age and gout. However, even in the nineteenth century, people were surprised to learn t h a t he had died of natural causes {Lhotsky) rather than by poison or force of arms.

ADOLF VON Nxs SAU WIRD Köxi c, vox GOD'S **DECEPTION** AND **MISSION**

The Habsburg - w h o w a s buried in Speyer alongside the high medieval emperors and had a naturalistic depiction of himself on the epitaph, which was unusual until then - hardly received any thanks from the electors. Even his last attempt to secure the succession of his son Albrecht in Erfurt failed, as did the same endeavor by Count Palatine Louis II of the Rhine after his death. After all, on the initiative of Siegfried von Westerburg, the chief shepherd of Cologne, the electors were thinking of Adolf of Nassau as the successor to the throne. After all, they would have preferred the powerless, unbemi- tled Count of the Middle Rhine to the now powerful Habsburg, **whose** power they wanted to smash with the help of the new king.

And Adolf had made promise after promise to the influential man from Cologne, his relative: -When . . by this our Lord Archbishop [of Cologne] the election has been solemnly carried out, we will transfer to this Archbishop, his successors and the Church of Cologne the castles and fortresses of Kochem, Kaiserswerth, Landskron, Sinzig, Duisburg and Dortmund ...¡ with all their rights, revenues, customs duties, levies and accessories of every kind, they shall be possessed by this Archbishop ... be possessed, peacefully and unchallenged, for the rest of our lives ... We will ... these revenues, duties and levies freely and unchallenged.

restricted ... ... for the time of our reign ... Fer- ner we promise ...- Promised confirmations of customs duties, renewal of privileges, promised the prelate appropriate reparation for the offenses of Cologne; promised him z ooo marks of silver and, moreover, promised his resignation if he violated them. He declared it just and equitable that the electors should then proceed to elect another king if it appeared useful to the archbishop (of Cologne)".-°

None of these offers failed to have an effect, especially as the Nas-Sauer also promised the other electoral electors golden bridges and clearly outbid Albrecht's offers, Enbishop Sieghied had signed a contract for the enormous sum of xy ooo Mark Silbef and had assured Gerhard of Mainz that he would settle his debts in Rome, as the latter had only become archbishop by bribing Pope Nicholas lV. He had only become archbishop by bribing Pope Nicholas IV - "an unselfish man", according to a Catholic. Of course, the archbishop lacked the money for the pope, just as the future king still lacked it for the archbishop ...

However, on May 5, i zgz Adolf von Nassau was born in of the Dominican Church in Frankfurt and crowned on June z¢. He was crowned by the bishop of Cologne in Aachen on June. The bishop, whose supremacy had been severely weakened since the Battle of Worringen (ia88), hoped that the new little king, virtually his -creature - (ßoockmann), would enable him to reorganize his own territorial policy.

But Count Adolf also had his territorial ambitions and sought t o improve his position and b u i l d up a domestic power, especially in Thuringia and Meissen. This was followed by years of bitter feuds, several campaigns, terrible devastation, such as the Erfur- ter Peterschronik, the plundering of the Braiid, the destruction of churches, robbery and murder.

Of course there were conflicts of interest, especially with the Archbishop of Mainz, Gerhard II von Eppstein, and the King of Bohemia, who had voted for Adolf in the election. Of course, the king had by no means fulfilled everything the count had promised and had by no means paid everything he owed. And of course he didn't even think about keeping all his agreements. Too

The insignificant Nassau of old became too independent and high-handed for the princes. There was a conspiracy, and now Duke Albrecht of Austria promised King Wenceslas II the huge sums o f JO Ooo Mark Sil1'er for the territory of Cheb and PleiBen and 4oooo Mark for the Margraviate of Meifia if he was elected; sums that he did not even have in cash, which is why he pledged lands, castles and towns, Altenburg, Chemnitz, Zwickau, Weiden to Bohemia.

<3 J- izq8 the lords in Mainz declared their creature, who had become uncomfortable, to be unfit and unfit for his -rule and power-, declared -with the unanimous consent of those present", for a few electors were missing, "that

We deprive Mr. Adolf, who has shown himself so unworthy of kingship, and who, because of his unrighteousness and the aforementioned reasons, has been driven out by God so that he may no longer reign, of the kingship which he has hitherto held¡ we deprive him of it and forbid that anyone should obey him as king in the future.*'

A LB R ECHT I. VO N HAB SB URG BECOMES KÖN IG U i'4D ERM 0 RDET

God had spoken - and his prelates had spoken. For just as the Nassau had once promised them golden mountains, so now the Habsburgs were secretly not stingy with their promises, especially to the Cologne and Mainz rulers. Thus, the king's rulers all the more pathetically reproached the departed for the obvious facts and the general outcry of the people, who came to heaven in tears from day to day ...; they complained to the Gonerbari about the stolen, robbed church decorations; they lamented: even the priests were plundered, beaten and sometimes killed down to their shirts during the church service ... Virgins are raped in the presence of their parents, addicted widows, wives and honorable

hrauen, who resist with loud cries and defenses, are violated extremely shamelessly even in the presence of their spouses and relatives ... -

All, of course, the fault of King Adolf, who was deposed incorrectly under the leadership of the Metropolitan of Mainz, Gerhard, without Archbishop Boe- mund of Trier and Count Palatine Rudolf, whereupon the college, not without rank disputes between the prelates, immediately elected the Habsburg as king, whose election was repeated at ^ 7 J "J' because of its problematic nature. {In the relevant report by the contemporary chronicler Ottokar of Styria, the word "elector" appears for the first time.) On *4- Archbishop Vikbold of Cologne was the first archbishop to be crowned in August and charged 8ooo Mafk for his efforts in this regard. Archbishop Boemund von Trieb, who assisted him, is said to have received)ooo marks for his services. The other electors also pre

sent their invoices now, if they had not already done so during the choice received their -Harid ointments-.

In the meantime, Albrecht had completely wiped out his predecessor.

Ari z. July iaq8 the two armies had clashed at the Hasenbühl near Göll- heim (west of Forms); possibly i g ooo warriors of Adolf and zd ooo Albrecht, but the ratio of forces is uncertain, as is the exact course of the battle. Only one thing is certain: -There was a great conflict and many people were defeated in the eighth ... And because Albrecht had ordered the enemy's horses to be stabbed in order to make it easier to kill the riders themselves, there were so many more dead horses than slain warriors among all the slaughtered men. The front legs of ReiWier Adolh are also said to have been sabered off, then perhaps Albrecht himself killed the enemy in the melee - - unde slug an konig Adolfis ha1z-, reports the "Sächsische Welt- chronik" again of the -herzoge Albrecht", whom Pope Boniface then called a

-called him a "criminal of the majesty" and a regicide. "Daz was ein grozzer jameq daz det der ein Romischer chunich was des Morgen, daz der des nahtes so nachent und so armer auf dem wasen lach."

The zealous support of the field priests, led by the Archbishop of Trier in the king's camp and the Chief Shepherd of Strafiburg in the opposing king's camp, is certain. Each demonized the other side and its clergy as godless and iniquitous. Everyone sang the traditional battle song - Marey, Mother and Maiden - that no great bloodshed is complete without Mary (p. i 5q, i 8x), and each side fought a just battle, of course - as Christianity still does in war today.

And the unpopular, sinister Habsburg, -mo- noculus-, the "one-eyed man", fought justly, even officially for the empire, but in fact, with his father's noble example in mind, for his own power. He broke away from Adolf's attachment to England and allied himself with France, also through the marriage of his son RudoĺF to Blanche, a sister of the French king Philípp N. the Fair, and enabled France to expand eastwards into the empire's territories without any resistance or hesitation. But when, after the extinction of the Counts of Holland, Iceland and Friesland, the Habsburg also laid claim to the territories of economic importance within the Rhine estuary, it was too much for the Rhenish rulers, and they thought to repeat the game with their occupied predecessor, intending to remove Aden Duke of Austria, who now called himself German King, from the throne to which they had first brought him.

However, the cunning Habsburg - of whom it is not known whether he could read and write (an alleged handwritten signature is a clumsy forgery from the 6th century) - outmaneuvered his opponents blow by blow. He waged a cleverly organized economic war, especially with the involvement of the cities, and finally also a regular war.

First, in May 130 I gCg0n the Count Palatine Rudolf, who had moved to

The army bowed to the plundering raids and devastation, the conquest of Wiesloch, Weinheiin and Hoíheim as early as July. Then - with the bishops of StraBburg, Eichstätt, Seckau and the Abbot of Fulda in their wake - the rest of the clergy more or less

along the "Pfaffengasse", as the entire course of the Rhine through the possessions of almost all the spiritual feudal lords was called. After notorious assaults on towns and castles, devastation of the Rhine, with Rüdesheim, Östrich and Winkel going up in flames, all opposing archbishops were defeated in the following year. In March i 3oz, Gerhard of Mainz, who as the leader of the new old electoral frorate had to take back all ecclesiastical punitive sentences, pay considerable compensation and hand over castles and customs duties on the Rhine and Main, submitted. The damage he had suffered w a s assessed at ioo ooo marks. At the end of October, in November, Kölneg gave in to the shepherds of Trier, all of them so humiliated after eighteen months of war that they no longer dared to rebel against the king" (Chronicle of St. Peteistif- tes *Wimplenj)*.

In the year I3 O3, a settlement was reached with Boniface VIII, who was not only unhappy w i t h France's policies but also, like Albrecht, with Bohemia's expansion into Poland and Hungary. The pope had not yet recognized Albrecht, indeed had threatened him massively in his conflict with the electors, and had even sought the help of the French r u l e r against Albrecht's vigilant power. However, when he refused to g o a l o n g with the papal plan, Boniface reversed his tactics and sought the Habsburg's help against Philip, who - himself harbouring dreams of world domination - was not only fighting against imperial, German universalism, but even more against papal, supremacist universalism.

Boniface's absolutism {p. 397 ff.).

In November I3oz, he had already condemned the occupation of the German imperial city of Lyon by France and then tried to mobilize all German border regions against French encroachments - in vain. But his waving of the imperial crown was successful. After all, he assured by deed of

3 - P*' 1303 to crown Albrecht emperor, the monarch of all kings and princes on earth. And this was also declaredly against the "arrogance of the French". The Habsburg, for his part, professed his unbounded gratitude to the pope in two documents, as well as his willingness to help the Church against any

to help the man. -The two documents represented the supreme triumph of papalism. They went far beyond King Rndolf's earlier concessions. The German king had in fact surrendered the right to act independently. In future, he only wanted to fulfill the duties of his office as bailiff of the Roman supreme ruler - {Hes- sel).

But while Albrecht, on the one hand, threw himself at the Pope's mercy and, on the other, did nothing to prevent Philip's occupation of German territory in the west, did nothing against his advances, especially against Lorraine and the territories between the Meuse and Moselle, in Thuringia and Menen he continued the policy of his predecessor, the years-long struggle for central Germany and central eastern Europe, invasions, setbacks and advances. The Habsburg saw the kingship as nothing more than an elevated duchy, and the expansion of his power remained his goal; the empire was to bear the burden {Hessel).

Since i 3 3 Albrecht had shifted his center of activity to the east, advancing his house power politics, especially in Bohemia, where King Wenceslas 11 ruled. His first marriage to Guta, the eldest Rudolf of Habsburg's allied prince was one of the most notable kings of the Pfemyslids, the most important personalities of the time; he was the patron of Ulrich von Etzenbach and of minnesong, and his court was one of the most important literary centers in the German-speaking world. Politically, he ruled not only Bohemia but also Upper Silesia, Lesser Poland and Krakow, and after the assassination of the Great Polish King Przemysl II (following an attempted abduction by the Margraves of Brandenbufg*9) he also became successor in his reign, and even won his son Wenceslas (III.) the right to rule.
yarn.

Three East Central European royal crowns in the possession of the Papacy was a lot for Habsburg, even for the Pope. And so it was certainly no coincidence that Cardinal Bishop Nicholas Yuri Ostia, who later became Pope Benedict XI, stayed in Vienna for an extended period as early as x 3oz, when the ncue community of interests between the Curia and Austria was formed.

Albrecht's demands were not small. He demanded from Wenceslas no less than Meifien, Egeq Oster- and PleiBiierland, the renunciation of Silesia, Poland, Ungnrn, and also Wenceslas' main source of income, the tithes of the Kuttenberg mines for six years or an advance payment of 8o ooo marks. (Kutrenberg, Kutnä Hora, was the most important silver mining center in Bohemia, where the silver coins, the grossi Pragenses, popular throughout Central Europe, were minted). Albrecht negotiated and equipped himself, conferring in this context with the bishops of Salzburg, Freising, Bamberg, Regensburg, Passau and Constance, who then also took part in the campaign. Indeed, just as he had already generously surrendered German imperial territory in the west, he did not hesitate to offer the Danish king Erich IV (Erik Menved) German territory north of the Elbe and Elde rivers in return for an anti-Bohemian alliance - all for the sake of his domestic power.

While the high clergy withdrew from Wenceslas under pressure from the Curia and the Habsburgs, the bishops rode into the field with Albrecht one after the other.

-Reichskrieg- (Imperial War) raid. Bohemia was heavily

but the actual goal, the mines of Kuttenberg, was not achieved. Caused by illnesses as a result of the drinking water that contaminated the entrapped troops, they began to march back, but although they prepared for a second march, King Wenceslas died on June zi. June x3o5. And the very next year, on August i y o6, his seventeen-year-old son Wenceslas, his only son with Guta, the Habsburg princess, also died. In Olomouc, he was stabbed to death in the house of the cathedral dean as he slept during the day - an assassination that was never solved and whose perpetrator was never identified. However, the Habsburgs, especially King Erbrecht, were suspected of being behind the plot.

The only certainty is that there was an Austrian party among the Bohemian nobility and that the two Habsburgs now invaded Bohemia, that Albrecht, together with Archbishop Konrad of Salzburg and the bishops of Passau, Seckau and Gurk, advanced via Cheb, while his son Rudolf of Austria advanced via Moravia and Albrecht, the

Bohemia was once again regarded as an imperial fiefdom that had fallen to the Habsburgs, and he won the Bohemian crown for Rudolf through threats and bribery. The Habsburgs now wanted to expand and round off their already vast possessions in Thuringia, but were defeated by the sons of the Landgrave, the Wettin sovereigns, at the Battle of Lucka (south of Leipzig) in May I3oy. And on 3]uli, Rudolf III of Bohemia dies.

Nevertheless, Albrecht does not give up the fight. He arms himself - and

is murdered on i. May x3o8, not far from the ancestral castle, he is murdered by his nephew, the eighteen-year-old Duke J hann of Austria. Because "with him he did not want to tail the land that belonged to him, as

vii he had brought them to him". Time and again, Johann, who grandson of Rudolf of Habsburg, for the return of his inheritance,

-daz er ouch ein herre davone mochte gesie". But time and again, the king did not do this and gave him a "good word", which the young man, then called Parricida (murderer of relatives), was not prepared to be fobbed off with. He felt himself set back, disenfranchised, insisted on an independent principality and finally conspired with four noble Swiss journeymen, more or less victims of the Habsburg policy of consolidation, and attacked the royal uncle on May i, 1308. May 1308 after crossing the Reufi on the bank between Baden and Brugg - "... unde zouch daz swert uz unde hiew den konik durch den koph und hiwe inne abe ein ouge unde einen bakken. Then the others sit there with the sword through the conic and kill each other.

Yet the caring man thought only of his own, the great children's shas, in his unwavering acquisition policy, which extended from Styria to Silesia and Poland, according to the "Erste Bairische Fort-setzurig- der -Sächsischen Weltchronik": "He was greedy for property, which he did not add to the empire, but only to his children, of whom he had many. "*'

i i. CHAPTER

" .. BETRAYED LIKE THE SAVIOR". POPE COELESTINE V (i zp4) AND POPE BONIFAZ VIII ('*94 3 3)

-It was only after he had renounced the tiara that the pope's real tragedy began. After a miolunbcne escape, his successor had him imprisoned in the fortress of Fumone because his own truth had been declared invalid in wide circles The abdicated pope had to die in a triangle of wall just a few steps across - Hans Kühner on Pope Cnrlestin V. '

-He was wise by education and natural intelligence, a very cautious and experienced man, of great knowledge and endowed with a good memory. He was very arrogant, proud and cruel towards his enemies,
He possessed great courage and was feared by all men ... - Giovanni Villsni on **Pope** Bnniface VIß.

-He was of great boldness and of high courage, he ruled the church as he knew how, and put down those who would not yield. He ruled with great cruelty, stirred up war and ruined many people." - Dino Goinpagni'

The end of the mighty Boniface VIII, through the invasion of the French shears on his summer residence, the so-called assassination of Anagni in **1303, is** rightly **regarded** as the overture of the late Middle Ages. The rise of the national states with France at the forefront marked a major turning point for the power and influence of the centrally governed church in the West. From now on, Rome's political supremacy declined significantly.
Karl August Fink*

-The Zeitgcist overthrew him as he had overthrown Frederick II. He strove for a 2iet that had already become fantastic; he was the last pope to take up the idea of a world-dominating hierarchy as boldly as Gregory VII and lnnocence III.

A man who achieved nothing great and whose lofty aspirations arouse only an ironic smile instead of admiration - Ferdinand Grcgorovius'

-Boniface VIII was a ruler of true greatness. There were great ideals in him. **But he was** personally tough and made many enemies. Even those he did not work exclusively for the common good ... -
The Catholic theologian Joceph Lortx'

He abolished the vacancy after the death of Honorius fV. (ia8 y to • > 7). The papal throne had already lasted almost a year after the death of Nicholas IV (p.357 ff.).

t- - - -- -s-1 -7 months uoccupied. The powerful, mutually hostile houses of the Orsini and Colonna blocked each other at the conclave in Perugia - the plague was raging in Rome. Neither party was able to defeat the other, neither could achieve the necessary two-thirds majority, but each could prevent it. So the dispute that filled Rome, the holy city, with murder and manslaughter continued in the sacred College of Cardinals. King Charles II of Naples joined him in the spring, urging in vain for an acceleration. Perhaps, however, he brought into play the name of the popular hermit and miracle-worker Pietro del Morrone, his subject, for whom finally, as the first, an admirer; Latino Malabranca, the old, cantankerous dean of the sacred college, voted, -in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit", and then the other cardinals, who considered Morrone an imbecile, also gave him their votes - an -lnspirational choice- {Her- de)'.

Coelestine V (the Celestial, J J- *94-> December 3, i sql),

Born the second youngest of twelve children in a farming family in Abruzzo, he lived in solitude, in mountain caves and forests for decades after his ordination as a priest. He founded an association of hermits, the Coelestinei; became abbot, for a time abbot general, made contact with the Umbrian Fran

He was a Franciscan spiritualist and finally rode in on a donkey after his surprising election as pope on July 8. July on a donkey in LAquila, where he was crowned on zq. August.

Charles fl., unwilling to relinquish his prey quickly, to let it go to Rome, as the cardinals wished, directed the pope to Naples, where they arrived together on y. November and Coelestine, the weird man of the woods, the ascetic, resided in a wooden tent in Castel Nuovo, the five-towered castle that still dominates the harbor today - idolized by some as the miracle-working Good Shepherd, as the longed-for -Enge1pope-, the
"papa angelicus" of the spirituals, mockingly greeted by others or even loathed as an intolerable figure of misery, with whom one could not even speak in the language of the court, Latin.

During his short pontificate, in which the Angiovinian ... house chaplain (Digard) became more and more compliant to the king, he added twelve new members to the college of cardinals (one of whom, a pupil reproved, he appointed "after dinner"). Among those elevated: no fewer than seven Frenchmen, candidates of Anjou (whose twenty-year-old son Louis Coelestin made Archbishop of Lyon, whereupon his father was still awaiting Louis' elevation to cardinal by Pope Boniface). Coelestin favored his own congregation b e y o n d measure, to the point of attempting to take over the great Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino. But he was also very accommodating to those looking for jobs and benefices. And even papal blank fines were circulated, sold by unscrupulous people to interested parties who used them as they pleased. Finally, after plunging the curial bureaucracy into an unimaginable tangle, Coelestine had long been preparing the idea of the "gran rifiuto", the great refusal, his abdication in V 3• Decem-
fifteen weeks after the coronation, he resigned - the only
He was the first pope to voluntarily resign - because of illness, as he said, ignorance and the desire to be a hermit again.

But Cardinal Benedetro Caerani was not involved in this wish. Yes, according to a story spread by the Colonna, his enemies, and also believed by Dante, who spoke of fraud.

According to the story, none other than his successor Caetani had initiated the resignation, expressed doubts to Coelestine, feigned nocturnal apparitions and simulated a heavenly voice through a hidden mouthpiece in his cell during the silence of the night, threatening him with agony if he remained in office any longer. Afterwards Caetani claimed the opposite, that he had urged Coelestine to remain pope, but had himself been urged by him to become his successor. However it happened, several cardinals demanded Coelestin's resignation, and the foolish Pope Anachoret had the renowned jurist Caetani advise him in detail, even drafting the abdication document. No doubt about what the advisor advised.

" THE H O C **H M** UTE S ü x DER"

Ten days after Coelestine's resignation, on the so-called Christmas Eve i zqd, the cardinals in Naples elected Benedetto Caetani as the new **pope** with the required two-thirds majority. He called himself Boniface VIII (inyq-z 3o3) and, before the end of the year, left Naples' hot pavement and Coelestine's clutch of monks behind him so suddenly that even most of his luggage remained there. But in Rome
he celebrated his coronation on•3 January i zq 5 with all the imperatorial poinsettia he loved so much. The most influential aristocrats of the city served him at the banquet in the Lateran, a king acted as cupbearer, after which two kings, vassal kings, that of Hungary and Naples, dressed in scarlet, drove his horse, a sumptuously hung, shimmering white tent, through the slush.
forty onlookers died in the crush.

In the meantime, pursued by the pontiff's bunnies and the king, for whom the disempowered man was no longer of any use, the "angel pope" who had escaped from the throne strove through Apulia's forests to the Adriatic coast, but was captured by his successor in a shipwreck while fleeing to Greece and was now stuck in the sea until he reached his death.

his death on iq. May i zq6 in the tower of Castel Fumone, a remote fortress east of Ferentino that had long functioned as a state prison and where a pope had already died once before¡ although it remains unclear whether Boniface killed Coelestine. After all, he confessed to his own brother Roffred that he could not rule without worrying as long as his predecessor was still alive. After all, his sudden death was concealed and no one ever saw his body. And at least the brother of the order who had last looked after him was also seized by Boniface's henchmen, taken back to the Kerker and probably killed.

According to the "History of the Catholic Churches by the Jesuit Hertling, however, Pope Boniface kept his predecessor in a kind of honorable custody in a castle near Anagni". The Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (Dictionary of Theology and Church), which fluctuates between "loose custody" and "hard custody" in various editions, further notes Coelestine's imminent -call to holiness-, but also: -scine thanksgiving saved the church from worse-; also registers
the official canonization on 5 J. I313, plus - -ss4 - discreetly in brackets: -(recently deleted from the feast calendar)"! Finally Pope Boniface says: Coelestine's -immediate death 9- *s*- - *S i* blamed on him-. Who knows, perhaps in view of all the
Could the Beseiriger even make the leap to the -honor of the altars-? He would be worthy of it!'°

A figure like Benedetto Caetani, feared, imprisoned, contemptuous of humanity, completely incapable of friendship, tempts us to paint black in black, as is only fitting. Yet the statesmanlike, somewhat heavy-set but shapely pope with the peculiarly sensitive hands was, for all his unpleasant, often sharply hurtful idiosyncrasies, his pathological ambition, exaggerated pride, his insatiable greed, free-spirited (he was able to give his head cook a hard time, because he only served him six dishes of meat on a fast day), not to mention his bloody deeds and cruelty, but he was also courageous, educated and an accomplished lawyer, as his publication of "Liber sex tus" (i zq8) shows. He founded a university in Rome and had an outstanding intellect himself, which made him an unfortunate man.

made him an -unbelieving priest-, even an -anti Christian among the medieval popes" (Davidsohn).

It was no coincidence that Boniface was considered a "heretic" by many of his contemporaries. And he himself, shortly before he came to the papal chair through Coelestine's renunciation, lectured many listeners who were astonished by his boldness: - the Christian religion is just as much the work of man as the faith of the Jews or Mohammedans; the Virgin Mary, since she gave birth to a son, could no more have been a virgin than his own mother was when she gave birth to him, it is stupid to believe that one God is a threefold God. He mocked the people in his entourage when they knelt before the host brought to a dying man; he called others 'donkeys' and 'beasts' for the same reason. He was already wearing the papal crown when he occasionally declared that the dead would not rise again any more than his horse that had died the day before yesterday, that there was no such thing as the end of the world, because the world was eternal, and that only for man did death mean the end of the world, because there was none other than the visible world" {David- son).

Boniface VI's high intellectuality, however, did not save him from many a superstition, trust in fortune-tellers and astrologers; it also implied a great contempt for humanity and hypertrophied arrogance. His arrogance was expressed by Arnolfo di Cam- bio, a pupil of Nicola Pisano, while Giotto's portrait-like fresco captures a touch of shadowy melancholy, a certain introspection - in the year i 3oo, at the peak of his power and the beginning of its decline.

Giotro was active in Rome and the Vatican, and Oderisio of Gubbio and Franco Bolognesc miniaturized books for the Lateran library. Boniface respected art, but his political activities left him little time to destroy art, for example in Palestrina. And more than the artists who often depicted him, in the Vatican and Lateran, in Orvieto, Anagni, Florence, artists whose work he thoroughly respected, especially their creation of honorary statues of himself, *he* was more concerned with the historians from 5 Spain to England and Ireland, and even more so with the legists, the law experts. But probably the most striking

He is most memorably reflected in the works of great poets, especially the Florentines.

According to E.R. ChamberĺIn, the "arrogant sinner - casts an even greater shadow than Lucifer; in each of the three books, he appears in Hell, Purgatory, Paradise, as a Berserkeç admired by all of Europe and inferior to no man,

-but the flow of history itself-.

Eix FOURTEENTH A L **LER KURIA LEINNAH** M EN DER **El GENEN** Fn> I **LIE** Z U G ESTEC KT

In terms of foreign policy, Boniface VIII, because he was too impulsive and failed to recognize the mutations of the time and the dwindling prestige of the papacy, was unsuccessful in most of his attacks, for example in the Hungarian-Scotch throne dispute; in the Sicilian conflict against the Hohenstaufen heir Frederick of Aragon, who asserted his independence; in the fight against the French King Philip IV, which brought him to the edge of the abyss. And although eg could hardly exert any power, at least on the "greats" of the world, with outmoded considerations, outmoded banishing rays and other spiritual means of coercion, he always tried again and again, standing as a mighty dark foe in the surf until the surf broke him. His presumptuousness, his wildness, his Hafi, for all his shyness, also have something fascinating, repulsively imposing about them. Barely sixty, plagued by gout and gallstones, the new pontiff {a nephew of Alexander IV, himself a nephew of Gregory IX and a relative of Innocent III, just as BoNifaz was distantly related to other popes) wanted to exterminate and destroy everything that opposed him.

So it is probably dark vindictiveness, insistent violence, which he exudes most strongly, as is already shown by the inauguration, the first act of government, the imprisonment of his unfortunate predecessor; but above all, and far more, a barbaric war against Hans Colonna, whom he accused of sedition,

which he accused of stealing money from him, Landgütei; of course, the Colonna also accused him of this, and both were probably right.

It is also indisputable that the impetuosity of this domineering, pa- thologically in love with power is linked to a very caring trait, his nepotism. Its scope and intensity had perhaps never been equaled and were at best surpassed in the Renaissance, when the office of pape, as it had been at times in the io. Century, became - almost hereditary-. -It was the cardinals who halted this process, if only because everyone had the right and the hope of becoming pope {Chamberlin).

Among the fourteen new purple bearers erected by Boniface were no fewer than five close relatives of his, while another is said to have renounced.

In some respects, a distant relative, the banker Jacopo Caetani from Pisa, seems to have come closest to him. Adorned with the title of papal knight, as well as that of papal and royal Neapolitan familiars, he is said to have served Boniface as a procurer, satisfying him well both in his own person and with his son and daughter, and certainly not only for God's reward.

Papsmeffe Francesco Caetani, on the other hand, valued the spiritual more. He gave up his wife Maria for the sake of the cardinal's hat. He sent her to a convent and is said to have had two more sons with her after forcing her to swear an oath of chastity (et postea dicittir dtios pueros ex ea generasse}. Pope Neffc Roffredo Caetani was married by Boniface to Margherita, the covetous daughter of Count A)dobrandino Rosso, who had twice been confused. Shortly afterwards, however, the Popes annulled the marriage on the pretext that Margherita was a bigamist. He confiscated her goods, the entire **Aldobrandini** earldom **along with all the church fiefs,** and **transferred them to** his nephew Benedict. Roffredo's brother Roffredo, for his part, married Giovanna dell'Aquila, heiress to the earldom of Fondi, which also came to the Caetani. -Because whoever has can already be read in Mark, and also in Matthew and Luke, "the

will yet be given, and from him who has not, even what he has will b e taken away."

Some landowners were paid for the loss, but even then it was often criminal enough. The chronicle of Orvieto records the Colorina complaint that the pope had forced some barons to sell their coffers through the harshest dungeons (durissimo carcere), hunger and thirst (per denegationem panis et aque). However, the coronation did not take place: the royal crown of Tuscany intended for the Nepot Benedict and the royal crown of Rome for the Nepot Peter - Boniface died too early, at least for the Nepots.

Benedetro Caetani came from a rather insignificant noble family of the Cainpagna, for which he acquired a considerable amount of land even before his elevation to the papacy, but which he made very important in just a few years, especially afterwards, with - funds from the church treasury" (Gre$orovius}, by transferring to him, especially in the south of Rome, -great dominions" {Tilrnann Schmidt), which ranked the Caetani among the -most powerful landlords of the Papal States" (Seppelt). With money from the papal treasury, money extorted from Christians all over Europe for the crusade, which the pope struggled for from the beginning without ever leading it, the Nepots systematically bought up lands, paying them, for example, for the lordship of Nimfa on the edge of the Pon tinian marshes between - -97 ttftd - 3-- no less than zoo ooo Goldgulderi, a stiiping price, and Boniface also confirmed this in the name of the church as an -eternal family fief". For whoever has ... Of course, in view of his crooked business dealings, he repeatedly felt compelled to declare that there could be no corruption, simony or breach of oath with a pope, that there could be no evil at all.

To save Caetani's honor, it should be said that he not only favoured his own relatives, but also his closest confidants and their relatives, for example through ecclesiastical privileges, lavish benefices and the transfer of houses. At the request of Giovanni Pipino da Barletta, an unscrupulous informer with a meteoric rise at the Neapolitan court, he appointed

Boniface appointed Pipino's nephew Pasquale Palmieri, a seven-year-old child, as canon of Troyes.

In total, the pope squandered a sum equivalent to two years' income for the Curia to increase the Caetani estates, i.e. he spent a quarter of all income on his clan during his reign. In this way, his money and influence gave rise to a new Campagna dynasty, like the Conti dynasty under Innocent III (p. 5 E f.). And a large part of this property was still owned by the papal family, at least before the First World War.'-

THE C O LO N NES EN -KR IE G

Due to his outrageous family policy, but also due to his insolent style of government and his {secretive) struggle for the reintegration of Sicily into the Kingdom of Naples and thus under the papal supremacy, Boniface came into sharp conflict with the House of Colonna, one of the leading monarchs of Rome and the Papal States.

The two Golonna cardinals, Giacomo and Pietro, uncle and nephew, who cooperated closely, voted hard for Caetani in the papal election, if only because they still preferred him to an Orsirii, but soon came to oppose him. This was triggered by the theft of a papal treasure on May 5, >97
at the gates of Rome, a transfer of gold and silver for purchase
further country. And in few things was Boniface more sensitive than in puncto puncti, his greed for gold, a man w h o had the retention of the many benefices he had won in England, France and Italy guaranteed by documents and never bothered to add new ones. Although the stolen goods were returned, the pope's other conditions, the surrender of the robber Stefano Colonna, the inclusion of ecclesiastical appointments, i.e. "Caetani appointments", if not "Orsini appointments", in their castles of Colonna and Zagarolo, their

The most important municipalities, especially their city of Palesrrina - the two cardinals came from the Colonna von Palestrina line - remained unfulfilled, it would have deprived them of their power.'-.

On the same day, io. May i s7, the two sides separated in open battle. In a furious consistorial speech in St. Peter's, St. Boniface castigated with all the imperturbability of his teniperament the Colonna cardinals, the crimes of their -cursed generations and contaminated blood-, which he wanted to eradicate at all times because of his pride. He soon hurled the bulls "In excelso throno-, as lofty as it was appropriate for him, and - Lapis ab- scissus" against his adversariesq deposed the two cardinals, disrespected them, took away all their income, immediately condemned the entire house, confiscated the entire property of the clan, called them dishonorable and incapable of holding a spiritual or secular office and &threatened anyone who would accept them with the curse. Not enough, he also obliged all future cardinals - the most extreme form of clan liability - to uphold the condemnation of the Golonna, insofar as they belonged to the line of the two cardinals, - up to the fourth member - in the blood of Christ for all eternity.

The Colonna cardinals, who at the same time had already challenged both Coelestine's abdication and Boniface's election, appealed to a general council and demanded that the faithful refuse to obey the pope, who had posted their aphorisms throughout the city and even laid them on the high altar of St. Peter's, intensified their demands and accusations in several manifestos. They also found the support of the spirituals and their friend, the poet Jacopone da Todi, who was excommunicated by Boniface and imprisoned for years; only Benedict XI released him. The protesters declared that the pope boasted that h e was "above kings and kingdoms in all matters" because he considered himself a god on earth, but hoped in vain for the solidarity of Philip the Fair of France, a ruler who was as cunning as he was unscrupulous and with whom all the cardinals hostile to Boniface were in close contact, but Boniface himself now ranked himself ac- cordingly in order to be able to take full action against the Golonnese.'-.

The pope declared the Colonna to be "heretics", and instigated the inquisition against them, as of course against all "heretics", these pestilential persons (personae pestiferae), whose goods he ordered to be confiscated "without further ado" (eo ipso). He recruited troops to pay the Cluniazenseq Cistercians, and in particular the knightly orders, so that the Florentine bankers - some of whom (since - *76) had the title "Merchants of the Ku-
rie" or -merchants of the Lord Pope- conducted big business
the Peruzzi, the Scali, Spini, Bardi and Mozzi, advanced the payments of the Knights of St. John to the tune of iq z8y gold florins, so that even the rich Templars had to borrow i z ooo gold florins from the Mozzi. The Mozzi banking house, long the first in Florence and one of the most important in the world, collapsed in August 1308.

Not the papacy.

But how closely this whole clerocapitalist felt, which, regardless of the changing times, reaches back to the Vatican, the Mafia bankers Sindona and Calvi in the second century and even a little beyond, is connected and what beautiful blossoms it produced at the time when excommunication and money transactions were so intertwined. The Bishop Andrea de'Mozzi {deceased in zg6), who came from the banking house of the same name, may give a brief idea of the connection between the two, and what beautiful blossoms it p r o d u c e d at the time, when excommunication and money transactions were all the rage. In order to cover the costs of his elevation, Bishop Mozzi had taken out a loan of sooo gold from his brother Tommaso, the banker, with papal approval. But when the bishop was still unable or unwilling to pay after four years, his filthy brother's heart forced the prelate's excom- munication. He then tried to squeeze the money out of his clergy, and as they refused to pay, the furious prelate in turn declared all the clerics under his control to be ex-communicated.

Bishop de'Mozzi also indulged in one scandal after another. He saw his rich nephew Aldobrandino Manetti de'Caval- canti, a master of canon law, for the cathedral chapter, even for the office of treasurer, although the chapter was complete and had hardly a n y treasures to administer. So he gave the

rich relatives the income from a hospital that had previously served the poor and pilgrims. And after the nephew got what he wanted, he took off his cassock and got married. Later, however, the bishop and his brother Tommaso made such a scandalous sale of the monastery (threatening any critic of the deal with an ecclesiastical ban) that he had to pay for it with his downfall.

The whole thing is not exceptional, even if the conditions that prevailed almost everywhere on a smaller scale, in the dioceses, parishes and monasteries, are far too seldom expressed, and unfortunately cannot be expressed. For example
in Florence, where in the middle of the -3rd century a -confraternity of the faith- particularly privileged by the Pope burned numerous -heretics- to protect the Inquisition; where many unarmed -heretics- were burned.
Catholics were liquidated in front of the altars, fighting downright murderous battles; but where the clergy themselves fought against each other again and again, the individual churches against each other, for example because of their demarcation, the secular clergy against the monastics, the cathedral chapter against the bishop, if there was any talk of a cathedral chapter at all.
chapter could still be spoken of. In i-i3, for example, Pagano, the provost of Florence, complained to the pope that the entire chapter had only
Four priests are still there, some of the others have been absent for five, eight, twelve, even fourteen years.

At about the same time as Bishop Mozzi was indulging in his escapades, the newly appointed Bishop of Fiesole, Angelo, whose clergy also refused to cover the costs of his appointment, attacked the rebels with his warriors in the church, but after such and similar incidents he was only transferred by Boniface to a southern Italian bishopric.

Certainly, all of these were small fish, so to speak, even if they were all curving around Peter's boat through the nourishing waters. The truly comprehensive financial operations, the big coups, were freely landed by the Florentine merchants, their Sie- nescr competitors and other money houses and sharks - as they still do today - in times of increasing armament, in war, the father of isolated upswings and

general misery, with the

Sicilian, deu Apulian battles, the struggle of the popes for Romagna, against Peter of Aragon or now against the Colonria.

On December 4, Boniface called on the whole of Christendom to take up the cross against its adversaries, which he equated with the Muslims, like the battle for the Colonna estates with the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre. A crusade, a holy war of the entire Christian world {although in fact probably
preached only in Lombardy, Tuscany and Romagna) against
two cardinals and the Colonna family.

It was not nm like immez, highly criminelÍ, this time it was also too ridiculous. Nevertheless, lured by the indulgences that the head of the army bestowed and by the prospect of spoils, there were enough warriors, crucesignati, who pinned the cross to their shoulders to wrestle down the Holy Father's iron enemies, to zenmen, as he wished. And when was eternal life to be earned in the fight against cardinals! Those who could not or did not want to go out themselves had to have their burden of sin removed by a representative. A foot soldier - there were fixed rates - had to spend at least two months in the field to spare his employer the punishments of the afterlife. Even dying women were ordered to arm a soldier from their estate, who would then fight for their salvation against the -schismatic Colonnese", the -cursed evil-, along with all their possessions, for bird's *e y e* .

Thus, from winter to late summer zzg8, in a gray war, civil war {but every war is civil war!), one Colonna castle after another was taken, burned or burned, ruthlessly reduced to rubble, including Colonna and Zagarolo, as well as their Paliiste in Rome.

On>4 September 5, Pope Boniface expressly absolved anyone who plundered Colonna property in Rome of any sin.

hatre. And every surrendering city was given to one of his party members as a reward.'-.

Finally, the ancestral seat of the Bdsen, the last unconquerable Palestrina, also fell. Ever since Paschalis II, this constantly quarrelling pope {Vl 388 If.), deu *On* in southern Latium by force of arms

the conflicts with the Colonna continued. And now Palestrina was obtained through perfidious treachery. None other than Count Guido of Montefeltro, who had first fought against the papacy, but in the last years of his life had gone over to Boniface and joined the Bettel monks, this treacherous advisor, the "wolf turned monk", according to Dante, advised the pope - as if he hadn't thought of it himself! - to win "By promising much and keeping little" (Lunga promessa cori l'attender corto). Boniface thus swore perjury, at least according to the Florentine, who was already highly famous at the time of his death, he died of the plague in i4

Historian, diplomat and merchant Giovanni Villani,

whose work -Cronaca" (Nuova Cronica), not least because of its literary value, "is considered the first great monument to Italian historiography in the vernacular" (Luzzati).

Apparently deceived by the pope, the two cardinals and their closest followers threw themselves around Boniface's neck with a stick in September, kissed his feet, begging for forgiveness, found mercy, freedom, but not their office - and Palestrina, ancient, clambering olive-green from Praeneste's Fortuna sanctuary, cherished by the Colonna's sense of art, Palestrina met his end: with all its priceless treasures, palaces, ruined temples, monuments, some of which have defied thirteen centuries, Palestrina, one of the seven pillars of the Roman churches, has also been a bishop's see since earliest times. Boniface's predecessor Nicholas III had promoted the Colonna, Nicholas IV, himself a bishop here just a few years ago, showered it with favor. And who does not remember Tusculum's downfall a century earlier at the hands of another pope! (S. *7 *)

With the exception of the cathedral, the Cathedral of St. Agapitus, but Despite an armistice agreement, everything, including the remaining churches, was completely razed, razed to the ground, plowed in, and salt was plowed on it - as over ancient Carthage, Boniface said barbarously unharmed, took the inhabitants their private property and let them build huts in a supplier location, not without cynicism Civitas Papalis baptized by him and already anno

i joo victims of a fire or renewed papal vindictiveness, whereupon the poor scattered in their misery.

Bonifaz VIH operated less "happily", in larger, euro-European contexts, for example in the Sicilian conflict.

KARL II. VONNJOU AND PAPSz Bom Faz VER LI ERENIZI ON

Since the Sicilian Vespers i z8z and the intervention of Peter II of Aragon (p. 35;r ff.), Sicily had been separated from the Kingdom of Neapolis and the island was firmly in the hands of the Aragonese, much to the continuing irritation of the Sicilian Empire. Peter assumed the title of King of Sicily and re-established the island kingdom as a so-called independent state, although unlike the Angevins, he had Sicily administered by Sicilians. However, he died in z8y, the same year
like Charles I of njou |p. 3*°)· Since his son Charles fl. xz8q in the captured by Aragon at the naval battle of Naples, imprisoned first in the dungeon of the castle of Cefalii, then in Catalonia until xz88; the rule of Sicily passed from King Peter
to his son J kob H. deu Gerechteii and repeatedly banished; whose kingship was disputed by the papacy, then to his younger brother Frederick Il, at first, since July i xq i, only tolerated as governor and vicar general.

However, the papacy, which wanted the Angio- vines to be the lords of Sicily so that they themselves could be the overlords there, was in no way in agreement with this development. Since the great revolt against Charles I, the popes had supported him unreservedly and had done all they could to win back Sicily from their vassal with banishment, interdict and creedal sermons. Thus, Nicholas IV (i x88-i xgz) already resisted when Charles II renounced the island in order to escape Aragonese imprisonment. Unlike the more peaceful Charles, who had been rather averse to warlike aberrations at least since his capture, Nicholas insisted on unconditional

release. He engineered an alliance between Castile and France against Aragon and issued new tithes to enable Aragon and Sicily to continue their war. Et revoked the validity of treaties and all of Castile's oaths and, when he arrived at the Curia of Rieti, crowned him on zp. May i z8q in the thorn there - a "fait accompli" for the world - solemnly crowned him king not only of Naples but also of Sicily, which w a s , of course, in Aragonese hands.

Boniface VíII, who had already been deeply outraged by the separation of Sicily from the kingdom as a cardinal and was to be preoccupied with it for almost his entire pontificate, also wanted to reconquer Sicily for Charles II, aĺso naturally for the papacy. He simply declared the island to still be the "property of the Church" and made preparations for a war in the first year of his reign, more precisely for its continuation in the Mediterranean. He therefore granted Anjou, his "Sicilian sword", a three-year tithe in several countries. However, the king, who was already deeply in debt to the pope, with more than zyo ooo gołdunces (with his own state revenues of less than too ooo}, was only to receive Sicily after paying off all his debts, once he had conquered it.

In order to facilitate all the procedures, Caetani first tried to outmaneuver Frederick of Aragon, the great-grandson of the Hohenstaufen emperor and governor of Sicily, apparently following his Palestrina method of promising much and delivering little. In return for renouncing the island, he offered him the entire Eastern Roman Empire, over which he naturally had no power of disposition. And the prospects of conquest were, realistically speaking, the same as zero.) Nevertheless, Boniface promised to contribute financially. He promised a one-off donation of do ooo gold ounces together with three annual subsidy payments of 3O ooo gold ounces each. In addition, he sought to promote the boldly launched cause through a marriage project if Frederick was to marry the heiress of the Latin Empire, Catherine of Courtenay, along with her rich companions; but the lady was not at all willing. However, the

Sicilian Frederick. And on January i 5, raq6 he was proclaimed king in Catania, crowned in Palermo Cathedral on March z 5 and called himself Frede- ricus tertius, Frederick III, in keeping with the Hohenstaufen imperial tradition.

This all went against Boniface's grain, and ultimately this disastrous miscalculation caused the failure of all his great political plans. He excommunicated Frederick and his followers on May 3rd, declared the election and coronation invalid and twice, -- 7 and i 3oo, urged Charles of Anjou, who was quite willing to make peace, to go to war. Indeed, he even urged James II against Frederick, his own brother; the "tyrant of the island of Sicily".

Years of hostilities followed, naval battles (at Capo d'Orlando, in the waters of Ponza) and guerrilla warfare. Boniface was also granted crusade indulgences and crusade tithes. He also borrowed enormous sums himself, especially from Florentine bankers, particularly Spini and Bardi.

The pope was initially strongly supported by the French king and his brother Charles of Valois, Count of Anjou, one of the now more frequently appearing noble condottieri, who arrived in Italy with his wife and yoo knights and acted as Captain General of the Papal States find - Prince of Peace - in Tuscany (and finally, despite all the enrichments and favors, left debts amounting to i zo ooo livres parisis).

In a flattering manner, occasionally accompanied by outbursts of anger against the Florentines in his speech to the cardinals on y. September i 3oi on the appointment of Valois, Boniface celebrated him as the lion-like defender of France. And like a young lion, cried the Pope, he now rushed to the defense of the Church.

"That is why we want to honor him before the other princes of this world. When we entrusted him, our plan was for him to move against Sicily, and this is still our intention. But since winter is approaching and there would be little benefit to be gained there now, we want him to first lead our sons in Tuscany back to peace and put them in a good position - because, he added, it is written: "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness".

The Florentines had evidently not been seeking the kingdom of God and his justice, but rather the life of Boniface's mentor, Cardinal Bishop Marteo d'Acquasparta. He narrowly escaped a crossbow assassination attempt and hurled the ban on Florence at the end of September 1300. But while the pope, with intrigues and conspiracies, enticements and threats, was constantly working towards subjugating the Sndt, who wanted to sell him some large bank lords, he publicly strove to take possession of them and their rights, his confidants in France negotiate with Prince Charles of Valois for a military campaign in Sicily and Tuscany, he appoints Charles rector of Romagna, the Marquisate of Ancona, the Duchy of Spolero and Captain General of the Church and swears -by Almighty God- to do him much more good. -We regard him as our brother and our son, and he will know our good intentions!" The prince knelt before the pope, kissed his foot, received his blessing and, in his quarters, three beautiful horses, a sack of gold wings and precious drinking vessels for his wife.

In October, the -Pacificator- of Italy arrived in Tuscany, where His Holiness had already made preparations. Many Florentines still hoped for salvation from him. Envoys of the Valois in Florence announced him as -peacemaker- and declared: -"The Pope is sending him and everyone can trust him, because no one has ever been betrayed by those in whose veins the blood of the House of France flows."

The ßorentine Guelfentum, divided into the factions of the -Blacks (Neri), with some of the most important bankers of the Curia, and the Whites (Bianchi), with a conciliatory but more distant attitude towards Boniface, decided to vemauen to the Pope, who publicly disavowed any intention of taking over Tuscany, and on the feast of All Saints the French Prince of Peace, the grandson of St. Louis, entered Florence, wielding "the lance once wielded by Judas" {Dante).

The -peace broker- (Paciarius) occupied the strategic the most important points, installed skidding machines, and soon

it was heard that the pope demanded unreserved submission to his personal will. Now riots broke out, vengeful exiles, exiled black gryphons returned, favored by the "bringer of peace", stole, plundered, burned down the houses of the white Guelphs, celebrated murder orgies, "it rained banishment and death sentences" Bezzola).

At that time, in 3oi, Dante Alighieri was i n Rome with an envoy to Pope Boniface. On his return journey the following year, he was banished a>7]anuar, and on io. March he was condemned to death at the stake in absentia. And a decade later
Florence later imposes the death penalty on him for the second time. Perhaps the greatest poet of the European Middle Ages spent twenty years in exile and never saw his hometown

A few weeks after the arrival of Charles Valois in Florence, Boniface i 3oi addressed a bull to the French king Philip, which began: -Hore, my dearest son, the orders of the father! - Claims of the supposedly highest priest-king on his
The alleged vassals, however, proclaimed the bull in Paris on February i i3 Oz to the sound of trumpets. Accustomed to dictatorial crackdowns, he immediately drew the line
and did not allow any money or goods into Italy for almost two years. In addition to the export ban, he ordered the expulsion of curial nuncios and collectors. The pope's trees did not grow to the sky. His intentions for Tuscany failed. But his policy resulted in many years of struggle there.

And also in NeapeĺÍ, in Sicily, Bonitas mufite aĺenken. In the peace treaty of Caltabellotta, et recognized; albeit far from
bend, on zq. August i3 oz the status quo, the independence of Sicily under Frederick voz Aragón, and annulled the excommu-
nications and interdict. Less a compromise than a defeat for the proud pope. But things were to get much worse for him.'^

Köxic PHI LI PP DER SC HONE,
"HOLY YEAR" AND BULLE
*II NAM SANCTAM -

The debacle of Boniface VIII was brought about by the French King Philip IV le Bel, the Fair { iz8 -i3 x4); and however much the changing times played a part in it, in essence
was again primarily about money.

King Philip needed it, needed a lot of money, in order to avoid the great conflict with Flanders, the war against England {izq'_ *3°3). a prelude, as it were, to the Hundred Years' War {i i 37- *453).
to be able to finance it. His Italian sponsors, his coin manipulations, coin forgeries, all the attacks on Jews and Lombards were not enough. But when he imposed a special tax on the French clergy, Boniface, as a cardinal a "Gallicus", and as pope still friendly to the French, sought to have the abal gation stopped by his decree of zy. February izqö -Clericis lai- cos-. In a provocative tone {and beginning with the embarrassing statement: -The fact that the laity are enemies of the clergy is borne out in great measure by antiquity, and the experience of the present day also clearly teaches it"), the decree not only forbids all laity, nothing new in itself, under severe ecclesiastical penalties any taxation of the clergy, not only the levying of any dues without the consent of the so-called Apostolic See, but it also forbids their payment and acceptance.

In England, the bull, which applied to all of Christendom, was successful. The clergy sided with the Pope, and the English laity also protested against taxes, crowns and the requisitioning of food. Thus Edward I, who had once almost become a martyr in the Holy Land, gave in nolens volens. In France, however, the priests took the king's side as they were more dependent on him. Philip took massive revenge on the pope by banning the export of money, valuables, goods and war supplies and by expelling foreign Negozians: a severe blow for Boniface, who needed this income and trade. Out of necessity, he backed down, restricted the bans and lifted the ban.

and even canonized Louis IX, Philip's revered grandfather, on August I i, z*97, after the king had also repealed his anti-papal resolutions.'°

The first round, however, was a complete loss for Boniface. For the time being, however, the agreement between the two continued, and the Roman was striving towards the external climax of his pontificate, the Holy Year I3oo. It was his invention, so to speak, whereby he offered the faithful - over two million are said to have come - a plenary indulgence by visiting the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome; a pastoral offer that the Curia used politically and economically, ultimately always the purpose of its services. Nothing without money. Without donations, no graces. Without sacrifices, no dismissals, no acquittals, no sayings at all - no evil. Day and night, priests are said to have collected the filthy lucre with a rake; allegedly mostly just small change - significantly, kings did not come, the time had passed.

But perhaps more money came in than was expected. Because should

the Holy Year was originally only every ioo years, so soon every yo (the next Holy Year: i 3so), then every 33, finally every zy

Jyears. In addition, since the ii. century there was also the possibility of extraordinary holy years and the granting of the indulgence of Rome to churches elsewhere. Not to mention

of the fact that more and more Roman houses of worship were forging their own abbey offerings. But always and only for the salvation of the soul here, the purse there. Of course, not everyone was excluded from the blessing: Suppliers of weapons to Saracens, Frederick of Sicily and his entourage, including the genuesep of his comrades-in-arms, and of course: the Colonna.

Not only the Church, but the whole of Rome prospered, and Boniface floated on the wave of triumph, feeling himself not only as pope, but also as emperor, as the sole pope, the sole emperor He changed the tiara, the crown, which was not only priestly, but also triumphantly interpreted as a ruler, symbol of the pontiff's universal power as -father of princes and kings, ruler of the world and representative of Christ on earth- (Pontificale Romanum x yq 6J. Also loved et

likewise an expression of monarchical pretensions, if not the foundation of idolatry, of idolatry, in Rome and many places in Italy, at city gates, in churches, probably even on altars, erecting statues of honor for himself, large silver portraits, as if he - given his self-assessment as "god of the gods" not so unlikely - wanted to enjoy divine worship like the Roman emperors of the classical period. After all, with his characteristic penchant for grand gestures and theatrical display, he repeatedly adorned himself with imperial insignia and shouted: "I am Caesar, I am emperor".

Obsessed by his desire to rule and be a great man, the conflict with Philip the Fair now flared up again, fueled by the infamous, already much-discussed constitution "Unam sanctam -, dated November i 8, i 3oz, perhaps not published until the following year. Among other things, it took up the well-known two-sword theory of the Church, the spiritual and secular sword at its d i s p o s a l ; the former was wielded by it, the latter for it, admittedly by the king, but according to the instructions of the priest (ad numm et patientiam sacerdotis}. Emperors and kings are merely executive organs of the Ecclesia.

However, the document not only proclaims the global claim to leadership, not only the superiority of spiritual over temporal power (cf. already 11 31 ff.), not only claims
"the judgment of the kings and princes of the world" (Presumus iudicare reges et principes orbis terrarum), not only demands "the one supreme power over them" {solus altissimus super eos), but also culminates - in words from Aquinas' -Contra errores Grae- corum- - in the fact that it is necessary for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pope for salvation: "Porro subesse Ro- mano Pontifici omni humanae creaturae declaramus, dicimus et de- finimus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.-

The constimtion, which also contains - sometimes almost literal - echoes of Cypfian, Dionysius Areopagita, the Grofi forger {III 147 ff.!), to Bernhard von Clairvaux, the spiritual "scoundrel" (Schiller:4 4), but especially to Aegidius Romanus, brings nothing new. But it brings everything that had been there before in a harsh form

to the point, the apex. And although or because the popes' hierocratic pretensions to universal leadership, to the spiritual and political domination of the world and, in particular, what is already strongly hinted at in the beginning of the document, the final sentence of the necessity of salvation never found a more extreme formulation.

This declaration, this "law", was confirmed as a dogmatic statement both in 1375 *-* by Pope Gregory XI and i 5 i6 by Pope Leo X and the Fifth Latin Council, it was expressed as a dogmatic statement.

was declared valid and binding - and yet nm was once said to be the epitaph for papal world domination.

Boniface's contemporaries already paid great attention to "Unam sanctam", quoted it extensively and criticized it with great excitement. On the Catholic side, attempts were even made to prove that the embarrassing document was a forgery, even though it is in the papal registers, and there is nothing to repeat that was not already written by more important church luminaries before Boniface, is simply "immortal" for the Protestant church historian Hermann Schuster, but for apologists, including papal historian Franz Xaver Seppelt, it is "of contemporary historical significance" and is only temporary and time-bound. Which is true: since everything is temporal and time-bound, everything is temporal - even that which the masters would like to exclude, because otherwise everything would collapse for them, which it does anyway.'-.

The **ATTENTAT VO rI ANAGN** I OD ER HOW THE REDEEMER REVEALS ....."

In the meantime, the conflict with the King of France had broken out again. In the fall of i 301, Philip had sentenced the bishop and papal supporter Bernard de Saisset of Pamiers, with whom he had already come into conflict earlier, to indefinite imprisonment for high treason and lèse majesté and confiscated his entire property. The pope abet; who was to depose the hotspur, had condemned the king's intervention without even investigating his accusations, and

on December 5, i joi the so-

ordered Saisset's immediate release. He had granted Philip privileges, revoked an already approved tax exemption and summoned the French episcopate to a synod in Rome in November i 3oz; 3q bishops came. And the bull "Unam sanctam", which had just been issued, added fuel to the **fire**

Nevertheless, Boniface sought a reconciliation, of course only after fulfilling the conditions he had dictated. Cardinal Johannes Monachus (Jean Lemoine), the celebrated canonist, his vice-chancellor and close confidant; but soon one of his fiercest antagonists, delivered the demand to Paris. This was followed by declarations and counter-declarations, actions and counter-actions. Documents were suppressed or forged. There were banishments and confiscations; and there was no lack of insults. The king fell below his level, or at least below that of his legates, when he sent the message across the Alps: -To Boniface, who calls himself Pope, little or no Grufi. Your supreme silliness should know that we are subject to no one in worldly matters." And the addressee did not hesitate to repay this immediately with interest: - Our predecessors have deposed three kings of France. Know that we can depose you like a stable boy if this should prove necessary.

Soon the Pope was no longer concerned with Bishop Saisset - on January 3, x joz, he even agreed to his imprisonment by the Archbishop of Narbonne! It was about the plenitudo potestatis, the supremacy of the ecclesiastical power, its superiority over the secular, the king, who, however, did not even think of subordinating himself to the pope in these matters. In accordance with his governmental practice of remaining more in the background and only making the final decisions, he had the battle led by his advisor Pierre Flotte and, after his death on July i i. July i 3ou in the Battle of Courtray { - Battle of the Gold Spurs-) against the victorious Flemings, by Guillaume de Nogaret, Dr. legum, Prof. legum, royal councillor, finally royal keeper of the seals {garde du sceau) and of the strongest influence on the regent.'-.

Arn ia. March•3 3 , Nogaret branded a meeting of the

In the Louvre, the King's Council of State denounced the countless and terrible offenses of this pope, this illegitimate pope, Simonist, heretic, this abysmal and soon to be imprisoned sinner, who must be replaced by a general council, by a new election. A further meeting of many bishops, abbots and secular grandees in the Louvre in the middle of June once again requested the king to convene a council and accused the pope once again of serious crimes, from the denial of immortality to the accusation of sodomy and the accusation of being Coelestine's murderer.

Boniface VIII replied with indignation and fierce warnings. Let no one be mistaken in his determination. He would not rest until the blood of the king and his followers was on his hands (nisi se eorrigant et satisfactionis impendant debi-
tum, ne eorum sanguis a nostris requiratur manibus, proced- mus).

On i . AuguSt I jO3 the pope hurled a whole series of bulls against Philip and his comrades. A further excommunication decree, Super Petri solio, was still in preparation and was to announce the solemn banishment of the king (who had already fallen for it earlier) and the release of his subjects from the oath of allegiance and was to appear on September 8, i 3o3. However, the lords **from Pafis appeared the** day before for the ceremony.

Nogaret and Sciarra Golonna had entered Anagni on the morning of September 7 *with* a group of conspirators under the French and papal banners. With the call
-Long live the King of France and Colonna- they had stormed several cardinal's palaces, unchallenged by the inhabitants, then set conditions for the pope, after which he was to keep his life: restitution of the Colonna cardinals, of the Co- lonna seat, delivery of the church treasury to several older purple bearers; resignation and imprisonment of the pope. But Boniface, he allegedly said, wished to die as pope, as the Savior had promised. He sat alone, abandoned by everyone, by the I'tardi- nals, the nephews, the soldiers. He sat alone in the immense

palace on the throne, the large tiara on his head, and declared. -Here's my neck, here's my hatipt."

Gciarra Cotonna wanted to kill him and Nogatet wanted to take him to France to a council. But after two **days,** on q. September, the Anagnescn rescued him. They chased the invaders away in bloody battles, Boniface thanked them for his liberation, but no longer wanted to stay in Anagni. He went to Rome, where he arrived on zy. September, lived for another month, tortured until his death by the delusion that every newcomer wanted to seize him. He was still lucid enough to plan the excommunication of the King of Naples for refusing to declare war on France. He was no longer lucid enough to spurn the sacraments of death, died on October i z, I3o3 and disappeared in the pompous chapel he had built in St. Peter's under the tomb that Arnolfo di Cambio had had to erect for him. And three hundred years later i6oy, during a remodeling project "his corpse almost completely intact" (Wetzer/Welte)."

When a delegation of Roman Jews once presented Boniface with the Mosaic Law, he returned it with the words: -We recognize the law, but we condemn Judaism; for the law has already been fulfilled by Christ."-*

A dreadful event that has been part of the pontificate of the Pope the great J-den pogrom izq8 in Franconia, is the occasion for the . to interrupt the continuous historical report with the reminiscence the martyrdom of the Jews in the Middle Ages

i z. K APITEL

CHRISTIAN MURDER OF JEWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

• It is surprising and worthy of special attention that the Jews have existed for so many years and that they a r e always found in misery: It was cum evidence of Jesus Christ both necessary that sir besiiíndeii to prove izin, m'*ie day they are elend, uieił who* crucified *him*." Blaise Pascal'

-The fight against the synagogues was a common European phenomenon at the time - D. Claude'

-In Spain, Judaism h a d no longer been tolerated by law since the middle of the seventh century, practicing Jews were subject to torture and the death penalty, and no Jew was allowed to settle in Visigoth. -
Aainoíi Linder'

The Jews who do not want to become Christians are to be beaten to death." - The Deputy Archbishop of Sevitta, Martinez*

°About two-thirds of the Jewish communities in Deuach\snd were Eşą8/ą$ the 9/üten des judenha$ses zum Opfeç mirunter von Stadtfremden, manchfTtal aber sucht, wie in Basel, Straï?burg odor î'4ürnberg, mir aller Umsicht von der Ranobrigkeit organisicrt. Of all the Jewish cemeteries *in* Germany, *s o m e* larger and some smaller *ones* were completely exterminated.
Handbook of European History'

-The most serious mu¢cilities, the tearing up and the crushing and the slitting up and the living-burning of the un¢cient exchanged, are the result of the **pgroïc of the** dust. - F. W Foerster-

The Christian fight against the Jews already began in the New Testament and was continued by the Church Fathers of the a., i '- century {1 s. Chap.!). Almost all of these theologians are rabid anti-Semites, even church teachers celebrated by Christians such as John Chrysostom (I i 33 ff.!), Ambrose, in whose days synagogues were already being burned down with the approval and on the orders of Christian bishops t 438 ff.!
"Adder-bred", "murderers are sons of the devil (I y i i ff.). His contemporary, the church teacher Cyril, became the initiator of the first
-final solution" {II iqy ff.!).

From the 3rd century onwards, the Jews were scattered throughout the Roman Empire. The Germanic tribes of the Migration Period, Gothii, Burgundy; Franks, granted them complete legal equality with the provincial Roman peoples. The Arian Germanic tribes that settled in Italy, Spain and North Africa8 also favored the Judaism and promoted its development. With the catholicization of the Grrmans, however, their hostility towards the Jews set in - in the very year of the introduction of Catholicism, the foundation was laid for the clerical terror and the horrific persecution of the Jews, which the Visigothic Cieschichte through the gä£tT*7- century" {Thompson}. But as for the East, we have sufficient evidence for Spain and Gaul that the Christian people largely lived peacefully with the Jews.
but this was opposed everywhere by the Catholic authorities under threat of severe church penalties.

T H E M E D I C A L L Y L E A D E
D S U C C E S S I O N S
ON T HE I BERI C HA LB IN SE L

Spain was the most important Jewish center in Europe at the beginning of the Middle Ages. The Jews were there before the Christians. They were also more powerful than them, more influential, richer. And because the people often harmonized well with them, in the bath, at play, at festivities, because Christians dined with Jews on fast days, visited synagogues, were treated by Jewish doctors, blessed by Jews and had prayers said for them, the clergy attacked them all the more fiercely.

In Spain in particular, the persecution of the Jews was almost entirely the work of the Church; it was initiated, directed and exploited by it. There were no decisive racial, political or ecological motives. Rather, all pogroms were almost exclusively religiously motivated. After all, every Jew with an impeccable Christian faith was guaranteed all the privileges of other Christians.

The leading man of Spanish Catholicism, church leader Archbishop Isidore of Seville (c. yöo-636) - brother and successor of the conspirator Leander (IV i4 4 f.), brother also of
Bishop Fulgentius of near Yes, Andalusia, because bishop's foundations
Even then, the Jews often stayed in the family and were almost clan property for a long time - Isidore incited and justified the Jewish pogroms. His polemic "De fide catholica contra Judaeos" was so popular in the Middle Ages that it was translated into Old High German. And even in fascist times, the anti-Semite still shines as the
-The greatest luminary of science in the yth century" (Ballesteros).

While the Arian kings had tolerated Jews, the catholic Visigoths of the 7th century and their clergy took an increasingly harsh stance. against them.

Already under their converted king Rekkared {N*4 ff.!), the 3rd Imperial Council of Toledo 58q forbade Jews - not Christians - to keep Christian slaves, whereupon the Jews lost their land.
sell their property. The council also forbade them access

to public offices in which they could punish Christians; furthermore, marriage or cohabitation with Christian women; children from such unions had to be baptized. And Rekkared's successors enacted almost fifty anti-Jewish laws in the 7th century alone and practised their anti-Jewish policies until the fall of the Visigothic kingdom 7* '"

King Sisebut {6ia-6zil* was praised by the Jew-hater Isidore as very humane, as a "Christianissimus" and was placed alongside the best princes of Spain by Catholic church historians of the iq. and zo. century. He not only waged one war after another, but also became the first great persecutor of the Spanish Jews. He threatened them with giBelung, exile, confiscation of assets and even had them forcibly baptized. Thousands who resisted were mufi- tured to Gaul.

Although the Council of Tolcdo in 633, chaired by lsidor of Seville, prohibited official forced conversions, it confirmed
The validity of conversions under Sisebut and dealt extensively with the sentencing of Jews who had been baptized but had fallen away again, which was not the responsibility of the authorities but of the bishop. Apostates were not allowed to be witnesses in court and were not allowed to hold public office. In so-called mixed marriages, the non-Christian partner had to be baptized or the marriage separated. Children of apostates who were circumcised were taken away from their parents and placed in Catholic families. No fewer than ten canons concerned the Jews. -The light of Spanish scholarship was able," claims W. Culican in direct connection with this council, "to illuminate the darkest centuries of the early medieval West."

Remarkable: In a letter to the Spanish episcopate, Pope Honorius I (6zs-638) found the attitude of the Visigoths towards the Jews too fax! The bishops were dumb dogs,
he argued with the crotch that could not bark. (Bishop Braulio of Zaragozs, however, rejected this and instructed the Holy Father that the Bible text used here did not come from Ezekiel, as the Pope believed, but from Isaiah)."

The amorality of these prelates is also remarkable against

over Christians, even and especially over high-ranking ones, as the case of King Swinthila shows.

In 633 a rebellion brought Sisenand {633-636) to the throne. And still in 633, the fourth Toletan Council, under the presidency of St. Isidoq, immediately condemned the usurpation of the throne, imposed an ecclesiastical ban on the previous king Swinthila and his family and excluded him from the community. And if Isidor had previously regarded King Swinthila as very devout, wise and -The Council under his presidency - a behavior typical of the clergy to this day - now accused him of "crimes" and "enriching the good of the poor.

King Recceswinth (6yi- 7>), who had already boasted that he was unhappy.
and -killings- had disappeared from his realm - not
He was praised as "sacratissimus" for nothing and 6y3 *
8th Council of Toledo as a recipient of divine revelations -,
renewed the anti-Jewish laws of Sisebut. Under penalty of death by stoning or fire (to be carried out on -guilty-• • anyone), he prohibited circumcision, the celebration of Jewish festivals, the Observance of Jewish dietary laws, including any wedding according to non-Christian custom, for which he even threatened the maximum punishment or at least "pardon" for enslavement.

Everything should be completely Catholic. That is why the 8. toletanic coricil, which also again ordered the compulsory baptism of all Jews living in Spain, the king not to rule over blasphemers and not to defile his subjects with the company of unbelievers. Recceswinth also issued a law against any kind of -heresy- and ordered, under threat of total corifiscation: "No one is allowed even the slightest doubt in his innermost being about the Catholic faith. Anyone who doubts will be banished until he changes his mind." This even applied to visits to Spain.

King Ervig (68-687). a special tool of the clergy, to whom he even left treason trials, incorporated the anti-Jewish decrees of his predecessors into the "Lex Visigotho- rum renovata", completed in 68i. Furthermore, he forbade the defense of the Jewish

turns, the reading of anti-Christian literature yes, he ordered all Jews to be baptized within a year and, in accordance with the x i. Council of Toledo, sought to enforce this baptism through corporal punishment (too whippings, tearing off the scalp), confiscation of goods and banishment. For circumcision of Jews and Christians alike, he imposed total cutting off of the genitals and loss of property for both the circumcised and the circumciser. The same punishment applied to any proselytizing.

In total, Ervig, who, as he emphasized at this council, felt committed to justice and piety, issued no fewer than z8 laws against the Jews¡ and the assembly he opened in 68i confirmed them. -Tear out the root of the plague, the king exclaimed to the synodal leaders, "which always arises anew." And the bishops were only too happy to respond to a thought that had presumably emanated from them.

All new Christians had to take the oath of allegiance to the creed and avoid contact with former fellow Christians, had to present themselves to the ßishop on the Sabbath and on holidays and, when traveling, had to certify that they had not attended any Jewish religious services. They were also not allowed to attend occult meetings or to own or read the Talmud. If they transgressed this rule, they were whipped too, deprived of their property and banished, and anyone who supported them was to be exiled and expropriated. Also, any nobleman who gave a Jew power over Christians had to pay to pounds of gold, a simple man half, an insolvent man got too lashes and was shorn.'-.

Although Ervig banned Judaism altogether, he was unable to eradicate it in Spain, which is why his son-in-law King Egica1 7 7 >), who acted as the supreme spiritual patron of the clergy, continued the persecution. Most of his laws•4 were aimed at suppressing the Jews. They were particularly affected by their exclusion from the market and from trade with Christians. However, Egica's attacks on the Jews only culminated at the•7 Council of Toledo l6qĄ). In agreement with the council fathers, he declared all Jews guilty of anti-state activities and insulting the

Cross of Christ to slaves. The Catholic king was entitled to give away Jews at will, their goods, even those of the baptized, were confiscated, the Jews themselves expelled, enslaved, their children of more than seven years taken from them. -Their owners must not tolerate Jewish customs among them," said the Council. The children were brought up as Christians and later married off to Christians. -These draconian measures seem to have actually been carried out, because from now on there is no more talk of the Jews - {Claude).

Only the Muslims liberated them again. The Moors were tolerant rulers {also towards Christians). New Jewish settlers were called from Africa and Asia; yo ooo came. In addition, many Jewish refugees returned and their living conditions improved. Although the Jews were occasionally declared a "holy war", especially by Fariatic tribes, Spain became the most permissive and cultivated country in Europe after Islam came to power, and also the richest. But Judaism flourished both materially and spiritually everywhere under Arab rule, in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, even in Jerusalem, where the Jewish community grew rapidly under the divine caliphs until they completely *massacred* the Crusaders (VI 38o ff.!)."

In its final years, the Catholic Visigothic kingdom w a s plagued by severe epidemics and famine, was destabilized by dynastic struggles, by the unpopularity of the Goths, and certainly the overwhelming influence of the bishops on the weakening kingship contributed to the rapid fiasco of the Arab onslaught. The decisive battle on zq. The decisive battle on July 8,7** brought victory to your army general Tàriq {cf.3 3 f.) with only7• • men and cost the Goth king Roderich his life and the existence of his state, of whom only his white horse and one of his silver sandals were found in the mud that evening."

Did Islamic Spain also guarantee a certain religious freedom? Tolerance, so safi the Christian* - JudenhaJl but too deep, nm to erase. No one was more concerned about this than the Church, especially its greatest popes. Thus Ciregor VII pressured King A)-

Fonso VI of Castile to grant Jews no authority over Christians. Jews must be humiliated, must be suppressed.

-We exhort Your kg1. Your Majesty," writes the Pope - and nine centuries later the prelates during the Second Vatican Council still express themselves accordingly - "to no longer tolerate the Jews dominating Christians and having power over them. For to allow Christians to be subordinated to the Jews and at their mercy is to oppress the Church of God, is to defame Christ himself. September i z3p the Bishop of Córdoba to force the Jews of his diocese to wear the badge in accordance with the resolutions of the Fourth Lateran Council,'^.

Through the Garize High and Late Middle Ages, the church and the state sought to isolate the Jews, to make their coexistence with Christians more difficult, to prevent it. They forbade these Jewish doctors, forbade them to have Jews in their homes, except as slaves {que non sea cativo), and conversely forbade Jews to take in Christians. Baptized Jews were no longer allowed to live with their parents, and baptized Jews were forbidden to enter the Jewish quarter, to eat, drink and talk with their former co-religionists. Any transgression resulted in a fine or, in the case of the poor, no caning. The Jews were also forced, with papal approval, to listen patiently to the sermons of the bishops, Dominicans and Minorites wherever they were held *and,* if necessary, to force them to 'go to church'.

The Synod of Valladolid decrees on August z, i3 xz by the mouth of the Cardinal Legate of Pope John XXII, William of Godin, and "with the consent of the Holy Conciłs": "Jews and Saracens may not attend the service .... . Under penalty of exclusion, Christians may not attend the weddings and funerals of Jews and Saracens. They may not hold public office ... Out of Hafi, Jewish and Saracen doctors gave Christians *oh* harmful medicines. Under ecclesiastical punishment, Christians were no longer allowed to call such doctors. Christian merchants were not allowed to sell food to Saracens so that Christians would not be in need themselves. This must be

all places near which Saracens lived, four times a year.
be announced."

The Synod of Salamanca decreed on May z. i33 y: "No Jew or Saracen may be admitted by Christians as a doctor; no one may live in a house belonging to the church or situated on the God's field".-°

The Synod of Palencia, in the presence of Peter of Luna, cardinal legate of Pope Clement VII, and the king, decreed in i j88 that Jews (and Saracens) must have their own quarters in their places of residence and may not engage in trade and commerce on Christian feast days. And on June 13, the Infante Juan, in agreement with the city fathers of Cervera and the chiefs of the donigen Aljama, had also ordered: -q. In the future, no Christian may rent apartments outside the Jewish quarter to Jews, under penalty of confiscation of these apartments. y. Every Christian is to wall up the doors, attics or windows of his house that lead into the Jewish quarter within one month; likewise the Jews vice versa ... "*'

Again and again, synagogues or Jews themselves and their money were given away. For example, the King of Navarre, Garcia Ramirez, who was often dependent on financial support from kitchens and monasteries, made a gift of the synagogue of Eetella to Bishop Lopez of Painplona. Similarly, on a8. March 1379 'ri Valladolid gave the synagogue in Valencia de don]uan to the Bishop of Oviedo because the Jews had enlarged and embellished it against canonical regulations. The
King Alfonso Vlfl of Castile, a special papal patron and supporter of the knightly orders, donated 40 Jewish vassals to the Bishop of Palenz * on October 75. And Enrique fl. Trastàmara, king of
of Castile, gives - shortly after he has been banned by the pope Peter I, in a long, difficult war for the throne and fraternal war, which the Holy Father declared to be a crusade, and stabbed him to death during the night - on June 6th -3<q the order to sell the Jews of Toledo publicly, together with their possessions, and to hand over the proceeds to the royal treasury, whereby the The- saurar was ordered to recover the Jews' money by imprisonment, torture and

to extort food deprivation. However, Enrique 11. also had phases that were friendly to the Jews, although he did cause severe persecution and expulsions.

The princes of Ara- gón issued a particularly large number of privileges for Jews. Again and again Queen Violante i3gi intercedes for them, asks for safe conduct and wishes for their conversion nuc, as she informs the ßishop of Osma, they voluntarily accept the Taiife. And she asks the pope not to issue any bulls in favor of guilty Christians before he has heard her opinion through the envoy. Likewise, King Juan 1. i 3g E decrees to continue with measures for the protection of the Jews; and expects severe punishment of Christian iniquities His brother Duke Marrin, he writes, dissatisfied with his weak action against the rioters, should have hanged 3oo to too people on the very first day. He expects strict intervention, regardless of formalities. And he also repeatedly used his influence to prevent the Jews from being baptized. For sexual intercourse between them and Christians, however, the monarch orders on i8. August i3g3 the Death by fire *-

But even if there is further evidence of a more or less philosemitic attitude - not always for the noblest motives - on the part of these and other crowned heads, there are exceptions. As early as xo66, Granada was the scene of the first major massacre of Jews in the High Middle Ages.

The violence flared up again and again. -*3 Christians in Estella, Tudela and other towns in Navarre, incited by the Franciscan Pedro Olligoyen, killed around 6ooo Jews. -3*3

The Council of Zamora decrees the enslavement of all Jews and threatens the secular authorities with the "KirChenban" if the order is not carried out.

The largest Jewish community in Spain lives in 5evilla, six to seven thousand families, they pray in more than twenty synagogues. But one of the biggest enemies of the Jews in the city, Archbishop Ferraris Martinez, who represents the city, is still hunting Jews. And on 6 Jurii Uqi, under his leadership - battle cry "Death or the Cross" - ąooo Jews were massacred,

then ransacked their houses for jewelry and coins and sold about z ooo Jews as slaves. The prelate gives orders:

-The Jews who do not want to become Christians are to be beaten to death: -The majority con- vert" {Rabbi Chasdai}.'-

The pogroms spread from Seville to Castile and Aragon, and in the summer and fall of i 3q i the murder of Jews was rampant from the Pyrenees to Gibraltan Entire communities were wiped out and synagogues turned into churches. - The rich Aljama of Cordoba went up in flames. Toledo became ... the scene of a terrible massacre. Similar riots occurred in seventy other large and small towns in Castile ... In Barce- lona, the entire Jewish community w a s exterminated and was never to rise again. In the higher kingdom of Valencia, not a single devout Jew remained alive. Similar scenes took place on the Balearic Islands. Acts of violence were only avoided in Granada, the last outpost of Muslim rule, and in Portugal, where the sovereign took energetic measures. It is reported that the total number of victims amounted to over seventy thousand (Roth).

T H E M ITTE LALTER Li c H Ex Ju Dexv ERFO LG U NGEN ix FRANKR s I CH

Forced conversions also took place in the Frankish Empire in the *6th* and7. centuries under the Catholic Merovingian kings, after the bishops had constantly agitated against the Jews and issued one anti-Jewish directive after another, including bishops who had already physically persecuted Jews, Ferreolus of Uzés y y 3 and Avitus I of Clermont, who destroyed their synagogue theres7d and all, who do not become Christians.

Hardly a bishops' conference in the Merovingian kingdom of the Franks without anti-Jewish decrees!

The Synod of Agde (yo6), for example, forbade eating with Jews, a decree that was also repeatedly enforced later. The 3rd Synod of Orléans (y 38) forbade them in the second half of the Carvoclie s7, Bishop Avitus confronts the Jewish community of Clermont with the choice of conversion or expulsion, whereupon the Jewish school is ruined "from the ground up", -its place of worship is destroyed.
made like the earth" (Gregory of Tours). The Synod of Mâcon (ş8 i) demands that the Jews greet the priests and stand before them. The following year, King Chiłperich orders their forcible conversion. Soon afterwards, they are forcibly baptized in the Marseille region. The Synod of Paris St. ą) denied them the right to hold public office or to apply to the king, whereupon Clotar 11th also decided on corresponding state measures. And his son Dagobert I {6z5 box. öz 3q} orders the forced baptism of all Jews.

Finally, the Franks also decreed: -No Jew may take anything from a Christian as a pledge or as payment for his debt to the Church of God. If a Jew takes such a thing in gold or silver or anything else - it must never happen! - he will lose his entire fortune and his right hand will be cut off." Or: If a Jew is convicted of an offense against a Christian or a Christian, he will be sewn into a sack like a murderer and thrown into deep water or burned.

In the 16th century, Archbishop Agobard of Lyon, a Spaniel, wrote five harsh anti-Jewish tracts in which the Nazi slogan "Don't buy from any Jew" was already written! He denounces their -righteousness‖, -humanity‖, -deeds‖, claims, factually c o r r e c t by the way, that biblical and ecclesiastical testimonies have proven - with how much r e v e r e n c e the enemies of truth must be regarded‖. He plays off the curses of the prophets of the Old Testament against the Jews, stating that. He claims that Jesus himself rejected them and does not miss a single anti-Jewish passage in the Acts of the Apostles. He paints a stark black-and-white picture of himself, seeing the church, the "powerless virgin" there, the "harlot" synagogue there, the sons of the Jews there.

ne of light", don the "community of darkness", whereby he makes a strict distinction between baptized and "unbelieving" Jews, fideles ludei and ludei increduli, infideles. And because even he has to admit that Christians, of course -informed Christians prefer the Jewish rabbis to our own priests-, he goes on the attack, appealing to his brother in office, the influential metropolitan Nebridius of Narbonne, to call on the other southern French bishops to take joint action.

During Agobard's dispute with his Jewish community t8zz/8a8), even the pious Emperor Louis, from whom he tried in vain to enforce anti-Jewish laws, refused him. At the audience, Louis only gives the fa- nat, highly surprised archbishop permission to leave, while the Jews of Lyon are forbidden to enter and leave the court with honor.

Since Charles I, who valued the Jews' long-distance trade and protected individual merchants and communities, naturally in return for money and special interest payments, some rulers granted special privileges to certain Jews. His son Louis also favored Jews, especially, of course, the Hoßiefe- ranten {Patschovsky), who were under royal protection, because of their trading zeal and entrusted their security to a magister judaeorum. Archbishop Agobard himself, however, admits that the Christian missionary efforts among the Jews were unsuccessful and that there was more of a threat of Christian apostasy. A few years later, Bodo, a high nobleman of the palace chapel, Louis the Pious's court chaplain, converted to Judaism amidst immense lasciviousness throughout the Frankish Empire, called himself Elazar, had himself circumcised, married a Jewish woman and fled to Saragossa.

Agobard's successor, Archbishop Amolo of Lyon, educated at the cathedral school there, advocated - in the tradition of his predecessor - a separation of the Christians from the Jews" {Lexicon for Theology and Church). The following passage from the prelate gives an idea of what this demarcation looked like: "Heretics judge together with the Church in certain things, but in others they s e p a r a t e themselves; this means that they blaspheme in part and confess the truth in part. The Jews, however, lie in everything, they blaspheme in every

relationship with our Lord and God Jesus Christ and the Church and believe nothing true at all [.] So the Jews must
be despised more than the faithless and heretics, for there is no other group of people who are so much in the habit of blaspheming God،q*7

After the turn of the millennium, when there were approximately zo significant Jewish communities in France, a bloody persecution broke out between - 7 and zoiz, ioio the forced return and expulsion of the Jews of Limoges by Bishop Halduin, io63 attacks on Jewish communities by crusaders on their way to Spain in the area of Narbonne, perhaps also in Lyon. Jewish massacres also took place in France at the beginning of the First Crusade, including on z6. January IOq6 r in the Norman city of Rouen with many murders and forced con- structions, for which the city's thriving Jewish community may have been particularly appealing to the pious Christians.

--In Rouen', tells Abbot Wilberr of Nogent {gest. i i z6),
'One day the crusaders began to talk among themselves: We want to make a long journey to the east to attack the enemies of God; this is wrong work, for here we have before our eyes the Jews, who are the most hostile people there is'. Thereupon they took up arms and drove the Jews - with cunning or force, I don't know - into a church and killed them without distinction of age or sex; only those who submitted to the Christian doctrine escaped the sword."

And when Louis VII, before the Second Crusade {- - 47**-49), taxed the nobility and clergy, burghers and peasants too harshly, Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, stood up for them by pointing out the rich Jews to the king. -Save their lives-, advises the V e n e r a b l e ,
-abcr take their money. It offends God, the money of the heathen
to spare - by which he means the Jews. For God does not want, as Abbot Peter knows, "for them to be completely killed, for them to be made to disappear completely, but for them to be preserved for greater torment and greater weakness, like the fratricide Cain, for a life worse than death" .

But even his even more prominent friend, the Pope's

The abbot Dlarevallensis, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who was commissioned to preach the creed in France and Germany, did not want to see the Jews, the "wretched stamin, the offspring of the devil and murderers from the beginning", as he put it, killed, but rather banished. He therefore apostrophizes their synagogue, which has been struck with blindness: -Wretched one, prepare yourself; believe or give thanks!" No wonder, then, that even at the beginning of the Second Crusade in France, such golden words did not stop there, and that the Jews were once again flourishing in other cities.[8]

A generation late *7*. d"<nite in the city of Blois, belonging to the lords of Blois-Champagne, a persecution arose in which Count Thibaud offered his life to all those willing to be baptized. But more ZIS3 Jews drew the fiery death vos and until the very last glance they were heard singing in the flames: -Alenu le scliabeach (It is due to us to praise the Herm of the Universe).'"-.

The unfortunate ones had become the victims of a ritual murder accusation¡ an accusation that had already been made against the early Christians, who were said to have killed a child during their masses, who had consumed its flesh and blood. As soon as the church gained power in the late antiquity, it used the same slanderous stereotype against "heretics - and, later on, preferably against Jews (first in post-antique times I*44 'u Norwich). Since then, the Jews, led by their rabbis, have allegedly slaughtered heretics in the Passion of Christ.
saw a Christian child, usually a boy, as a mockery of Christianity and Christianity itself.

The accusation originated in England, where the Benedictine Thomas of Monmouth was the first to introduce it to the medieval world, then spread to France, Spain, Germany (here first in I 2.3 y Fulda), and from the i6th century onwards to Poland. Century in Poland and regularly provoked pogroms. Of similarly bloody significance was the accusation of host trafficking, which had been raised since xxx 3, after the recognition of the doctrine of transubstantiation, but was first documented with certainty for Paris in xaqo, an accusation that "in no case stood up to scrutiny" (Kirmeier). Even later, in the 1920s, the accusation of well poisoning a p p e a r e d , also first in France.

Although individual emperors and popes (bulls since i zqy) rejected the ritual murder lie, the Church in particular used it vigorously to mobilize the clergy, for pogroms, pilgrimages, martyr cults, erwa of Litile Hugh of Lincoln {died izyy), of Simon of Trent (d. 4751› of Nino de la Guardia
{gest. *4s-) or Werner von Oberwesel {Werner von Bacharach). His i - 7 8found body led to widespread Jewish reenactments, in Bacharach itself to z6 murdered Jews, who also led to
a regional cult of saints in and around Bacharach, to a martyr's chapel, to miracles, indulgences, streams of pilgrims, in the i y. This led to an attempt at canonization in the i y th century, and in the i 6 th to a partial transla9on to Besan9on with the spread of the veneration of the Oberwesel Werner across France¡ the (well)believing diocese of Trier celebrated his feast {i8. April) until iq63.'°

The "Martyrology of Germania" only mentions Werner of Upper Wesel - for certain reasons - in an "addendum" regarding the authenticity of the - ritual murder - saint, but nevertheless presents him as one of the - most famous saints and martyrs" and tells us the maudlin story of a boy, whom on Maundy Thursday zi87 -the Jews are said to have martyred horribly for three days in order to get hold of the Holy Communion and then threw his body into a thicket of thorns near Bacharach...-'

Another almost-saint, the unfortunate Andreas (Anderl} Oxner von Rium, was stolen from his parents by the criminal Jews as a three-year-old peasant child and stabbed to death in cold blood on July i ¢6 z in Rinn near Innsbruck. Admittedly, it was all on paper; in the legend that the Jesuit pupil and Hall monastery doctor Hippolyt Guarinoni invented and published i6yi. But a century later• 75 z, Benedict XII - of Mon-
tesquieu the pope of the scholars, of Macaulay the highest and most
The Vatican allowed the veneration of poor Anderl, beatified him, and only two centuries later, i96 i, did the Vatican cut off the cult of Blessed Anderl, and only iq8 5 did the Bishop of Inrisbruck finally prohibit the salvation event, even though it had been

was and is one iota more treacherous than so much of the Catholic Church, which, after all the blessings of the twice-slaughtered Andetl Fuck, still proves to be ungrateful. Hundreds of Tyroleans made a pilgrimage to the closed little church - on the Judenstein - to one of their three national saints, bringing flowers, burning candles, demanding the reopening of the "place of grace" and even threatening to leave the church. Difficile est satiram non scribere.-'

Some of these youthful heroes allegedly massacred by the "enemies of Jesus" were even zealously venerated as saints; St. Henry (d. i zzo), St. Hugh (d. --is1. St. Rudolf {gest. I Z 7). St. Simeon tgest. -475) The Bollandists line up -like murders of Christian children": in Forchlieim, Pforzheim (i zöI), in Munich (i a8ö), in Thuringia (i jo7l, Bohemia (i jo5), in Kästilien (-4 54s, in VenetiafliSCheni 4), in Un-garn ¡ 494), Poland ¡- 547). Lithuania (i yyq) and call "to tax of the truth - and because few Christians are allowed to look up the sources themselves - what a loss! -' also the reasons for -these abominations-: i. Christian blood makes circumcision less painful; x, reciprocal love becomes more pious; 3. certain diseases 4 Trade and commerce flourished more blessedly Often, of course, there w a s no need for direct religious pretexts for the murder of the Jews. Fires, epidemics, civil wars, violent conflicts The approach of Easter with the remembrance of the Lord's death was also enough to provoke the hunt. If the Jews were struck by the plague first, they were to blame; if they were spared, they were also to blame.*'

Probably more important than the religious gain: the material gain. Under the influence of a pious hermit from Vincennes, the fifteen-year-old King Philip ö. Augustus (i i 8o-i za3) decided to arrest the Jews right at the beginning of his reign and extort a nasty ransom from them. i i 8 i after large-scale confiscations, allegedly for ritual murder, he also freed his subjects from all debt obligations, not without having a fifth of the debt paid to himself. xi8z he banished all Jews from his domain {but allowed i i q8 their

Return; at the same time, however, imposing on them an order for their business with which he violently fleeced them). rqz he had about a hundred Jews from Bray-sur-Seine burned at the stake in the Champagne and confiscated their property.

Around I 2.3ö, a further wave of rainfall occurred in northern and western France.

bloody hunt for Jews; according to Pope Gregory IX - s - according to a more recent source qooo people were killed. Gregory himself but three years later denounces the Talmud in various articles and orders the confiscation of all copies. In France at least, the order was obeyed and all Hebrew literature was confiscated on March 3 i aqo, while the Jews were in their synagogues. And in June izdz*7 in Paris - after a

a 'Jewish-Christian debate under the patronage of King Louis lX. - z¢ wagonloads of irreplaceable Hebrew writings were publicly burned, a catastrophe still lamented in the zo. A catastrophe still lamented in the synagogues in the second century. The Church exterminated the Talmud in France so fanatically that only one old manuscript is said to have survived to our times.

Louis IX the Saint {xza6-i zyo) had the anti-Jewish decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (5. zi 3) carried out with the utmost severity. He also recommended in his holiness (Pi- nay) that "for the defense of Christianity against unbelievers, the sword should be thrust into the body as far as it can penetrate", which was remembered by high anti-Semitic clerical circles even after Hitler during the Second Vatican Council.

Anyone in debt to the Jews did not need to pay the interest or a third of the capital among the saints. For with the stroke of a pen, he delivered both to the Christians "to save his soul and the soul of his father and all his predecessors - and at the same time robbed the Jews of a third of their income. I z3 y he was the first ruler of Europe to forbid them to take interest and ordered them to live on manual labor alone. A decade later, in July i•4 , he wrote to the seneschal of Cae

cassonne: "Take captive all the Jews who belong to us . ..., for

We want to get as much out of them as possible." The saint was preparing for war against the Mohammedans, so the money from the God-damned Jews was just what he needed. And before he went i•49 to his crossroads (p. 3oq ff.), he commanded their expulsion, apparently in vain.

A saint, after all. Is it surprising? But it should be much more surprising that even today, even enlightened, highly qualified minds have the most puffed-up ideas about saints and the holy. I would therefore like to refer to a thought I have already formulated elsewhere: that it was not useless praying brothers who climbed the "honor of the altars", no, exploiters, thieves, anti-Semites, blackmailers; counterfeiters, arsonists and bribery specialists, murderers and mass murderers Helvétius knew it:

-If you read their saints' legends, you will find the names of a thousand canonized criminals." And almost all of them from the upper class! But that's precisely why what's stuck in people's heads as sacred should be cut out like cancer.

Since the apple doesn't fall far from the tree, Philip IV robbed the king of the apple.

the Handsome (i z85-x i3 4), the grandson of the saint, persecuted the Jews wherever he could. He repeatedly ordered mass arrests to prevent them from fleeing. And finally, on July zz. i 3oö all the Jews of his country, at that time about ioo ooo, were first imprisoned.

then expelled, after they h a d already been expelled r a3qf r zqo from Brittany, since i z8q from the English mainland, since i Z I from Poitou. Philip the Fair allowed them to take only twelve -sous tournois- and the clothes they could carry on their backs. He confiscated their entire fortune plus their claims from usury transactions. His son Louis X (Louis Hutin) granted their return, but only for twelve years, for which they had to pay i zz yoo livres in cash, which is why only a few remigrated.

In the spring of i 3zo, Philip V's call for an exodus triggered a new pastoral movement in southern and western France. As with the first {p. 3 i 5 f.}, hardly any of the rebelling shepherds embarked for Palestine, but in contrast to the earlier uprising, there were now serious Jewish pogroms in Languedoc, Ber-

ry, the foothills of the Alps, in Toulouse, Narbonne, Cahors etc., later even in Aragon, whereupon the insurgents, who also attacked the clergy and nobility, were completely destroyed everywhere by the military.

Before that, however, the Jews were attacked one by one and all the lepers in Languedoc were burned because they had poisoned the wells, allegedly bribed by Jews. Philip Yi the Long (le Long), King of France and Navarre, had Jews hunted down like lepers and once killed I6o Jews in one day at his castle of Chinon, near Tours. "The royal treasury is said to have received one hundred and fifty thousand livres from the property of the burned and banished Jews" {Lea).

Under the terms of the treaty of -3- 5, the Jews were chased out of the entire empire and were not allowed to return until ty Jg. It was that Jslu; in which Innozenn VI.
of Provence commanded that apostate Jewish Christians, who had to be accused and punished since Clemen's N. constitution "Turbato corde" (-* 7) *XS -heretics - even if they were dead, were to be dug up and subsequently condemned. Medieval theology almost unanimously condemned baptized and apostate Jews to death at the stake. However, the laws of the world also rigorously punished the relapse of baptized Jews into Judaism, at least from the High Middle Ages onwards, usually with death, occasionally with mutilation or exile.

i 38o and g there were anti-Jewish agitations in Paris during the Maillotins' tax riot, during which xö Jews were killed and the rest were flogged and imprisoned. And i3q y mufitefl the
Jews leave the kingdom again, as already r i 8-. -3O6 and i 3az. After all, they had already left other areas of France
were expelled, for example i ¡9 by Duke John of Brittany or z*53 by the Archbishop of Vienne, whom Pope ln- nozenz IV had authorized to banish them from his country,
because they ignored the laws of the Church - and the salvation of the Christians would bring dangers".-*

T HE M IDDLE-AGED JUVENILE S T R UC TI ONS IN ExiJ LAN D

After the conquest of England by William of Normandy in o66, the Jews on the island enjoyed a certain tolerance, freedom of movement, freedom from customs duties, they did the king's business, but were also -the king's- J-den-. This had consequences, initially in business terms. A century later, Aaron of Lincoln was the richest man in England, and when he died i i 8ö, the monarch not only confiscated his entire estate - for decades afterward, the royal treasury struggled to collect Aaron's debts from4i O creditors.

Wealth arouses the envy and anger of Christians. It came the first accusation of ritual murder by the Jews in Europe. In mockery of Christ's crucifixion, they are said to have nailed the tanner's apprentice William of Norwich to the cross at Easter *44 (p. 4). Further ritual-murder-like inspections followed without any real persecution, apart from colossal exploitation. For example, did the English Christians i i86

a tenth of their property, the Jews a quarter, and

Their taxes were raised higher and higher.

The actual pogroms began with the Third Crusade. The pious "pilgrims" first wanted to slay the Jews before they killed the Saracens, which was also good practice on the continent.

On September 3, i i 8g, a riot broke out at the coronation of Richard I the Lionheart in Westminster, and many Jews were murdered in London during the night, by the light of burning houses and even into the next day. And as soon as the king left England the following spring, there were further massacres of Jews, although he h a d previously issued a pioclamation expressly forbidding the harassment of Jews. But the

"I n January, the pilgrims razed all the Jews in Lynn and r a z e d their houses to the ground; no stone is said to have been left upon another. In February they exterminated all the Jews they encountered in Norwich.

In March, many were killed at market time in Stanford. A similar procedure was followed in Bury and Dunstable. In York, the persecuted defended themselves in a tower for a few days, then they burned the goods they had brought with them and killed each other themselves. "Then Rabbi Jomtov appeared and slaughtered sixty people. Others also slaughtered. Some, who otherwise did not dare to put the fufi on the ground because of soft-heartedness and fear, now ordered his only son to be slaughtered; some burned themselves in recognition of the unity of their Creator. The number of the slain 'and burned amounted to one hundred and fifty holy persons - (Ephraim ben Jacob). Finally, Rabbi Jomtov slaughtered himself. The besiegers found the next morning, on ry. March i iqo, uur still corpses.

The leaders of the Christian mnb were knights who were in debt to the Jews, just as the York Christians, who were heavily in debt to them, had burned their promissory notes first - along with a number of Jews. And finally, they burned other promissory bills stored in the cathedral in front of the main altar. And they took treasures stolen from the Jews, gold, silver and precious books to Cologne and other places - "and sold them to the Jews there ..."

The Jewish communities of England are said to have never fully recovered from the blow dealt by the massacres of z i 8q/i iqo."

After King John Ohneland (i i qq-i zi 6) had been able to assert his throne against his nephew Arthur I, Earl of Brittany - whom he allegedly had killed - he needed nothing more than money for his numerous wars, for further campaigns against Scotland, Ireland and Wales. So he fleeced the Jews, among others, locked them up, blackmailed them, h a n g e d some and expelled others. And as soon as the baronial uprising in i 5 forces the recognition of Magna Carta, even the dissolute nobles in London first turn against the Jews and lay their houses in r u i n s .

And the anti-Jewish king and the anti-Jewish nobility are joined by the anti-Jewish church, which has been sowing the seeds of disaster for a long time.

Only recently, however, izi y, the Fourth Lateran Council had a whole of anti-Jewish provisions w e r e r e i n t r o d u c e d , indeed

-created a new basis for the right of the Jews- {Cupian), it had further deepened the second-class status of the Hebrews in the general consciousness. The Pope of the Council, Francis III, was able to refer to the great anti-Judaist Augustine {I yi i ff.). However, in recent times, at the height of the Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas, doctor angelicus, had also vetoed the doctrine of the eternal servant existence of the Jews, of their slave status, which was confirmed by the Corizil. And lnnozenz's words were very popularly quoted: -The Jew is to his gasr as a fire in the bosom, as a mouse in a sack, a serpent by the neck."

The anti-Semitic resolutions not only of this Lateran Assembly were enforced earlier in England than anywhere else in Europe, and were implemented sooner and more consistently than anywhere else in Europe. From then on, every English Jew had to wear a badge in the form of the tablets of the law, called a tabula (Hitler's Jewish star!). Half a century later, it had to be larger and yellow in color and, since zzyq, also worn by women. And in the meantime, iz63, King Louis the Holy had already ordered all Jewish men and women to display this mark of shame on their clothing, a circle of yellow fabric, "on the front and back of their clothing". Truly, the Nazis-, exclaims Rudolf Krämer-Badoni, -have not invented many of their abominations, they have often resorted to the practices of the Christian Middle Ages, to the practices of those masses who absolutely believed in Christ, who had long enough been made to believe by church fathers and theologians that Jews were murderers of God and slaves of Christians, and by preacher monks and even before that by the Fourth Lateran Council that Jews were to be treated as suckers of good Christians because of usury."

During his active reign, King Henry III threw between English I•3 tilld x•s4 the English Jews, usually the men, occasionally also women tind children iris prison. The often seemingly weak but costly wars waged by the Monarch proved to be pithy here. He had the Jews robbed and blackmailed and only released them once he had taken enough money from them,

Amounts of between ten and twenty thousand marks; >44 8beq when rumors of a ritual murder in London were circulating, he demanded a ransom of sixty thousand marks.

--He decreed as a fundamental principle that no Jew should remain in England without serving the King, and that every Jew, whether male or female, should be allowed to remain in England from the hour of his death.

of his birth, tfns must somehow benefit. And no Christian, not even the least of them, was to be harmed by anyone, for example by entering a church or eating meat during Lent or hurting sensitive Christian ears by barking too loudly. If people even sang in synagogues and thus disturbed the service in a neighboring church, the synagogue could be confiscated; the building of a new one was forbidden anyway.

When civil war broke out once again in England, when there was another "revolt of the barons", the nobility blamed their impoverishment on the Jews, the royal money collectors, and the London Jewish quarter was once again reduced to ashes. Those who did not dew were killed. But the pogroms also spread to other cities, to Canterbury, Worcester, Bristol and Lincoln, and the old accusation of ritual murder emerged. A "ritual murderer" who confesses under torture is dragged through the streets by the king's ponytail and hanged like other Jews. He was beaten to death, imprisoned, burned at the stake and hanged - and Pope Honorius IV protested in a bull to the Church of England in z86 against the social intercourse of Christians with Jews and called for their stricter isolation.

But King Edward I {• •7*—*3) intervened even more radically. And wasn't he made for it? A prince who was constantly piling up debts and waging war (and who also took part in the Second Crusade

Louis the Saint and was the only one of the Haiipt leaders of Tunis to continue to iris the Holy Land)? i a9o he identifies the Jews who did not convert. Were they not, as contemporary chroniclers estimated, i6 ooo people, several thousand high now across the sea.$-

THE FfiITTEl.ALTERLICHEH JUdENVERFOLGUNGEN IN Dzus cHLAND

The massacres of Jews began in Germany with the First Crusade (see "Early Preludes to the Nazi Era", W 36z ff.), even though the main murderers were mainly crusaders from northern France and Flanders. But since then, there has been no crusade preparation without anti-Jewish excesses, the situation of the Jews has become worse and worse; the laws hostile to them, the bloody riots have increased throughout Europe from Spain to Poland. Forced baptisms became almost the rule, although many Jews preferred exile or death - unfortunately.

The Second Crossing {VI 47 i et seq.) is also i i ty with Judenab- The abbot of Cluny, Petrus Venerabilis (the Venerable), author of a book entitled "liegen [lie] uden-, and the Fana- nian German Cistercian Radulf. The Abbot of Cluny, Petrus Venerabilis (the Venerable), author of a book entitled "The Jews lie", and the fanatical German Cistercian Radulf both agitated against Jews and pagans. In all the larger cities where Radulf preached, in Cologne, Mainz, Worms, Speyer and Strasbourg, there were attacks, although the number of victims was significantly lower than during the First Crusade. However, the pilgrims massacred the most - afR•4 February i•47 the
Jews of Würzburg, women and children; old and young, also three Rab-
binec -This whole time was sick with religious hatred" (Scho-

Although coexistence with the Jews on German soil may have been relatively moderate or less disturbed for longer than in Spain or France, the Jewish community
The Germans, who have enjoyed a limited sinew from the imperial governments, are gradually increasing the wave of violence, and in their thorough arr the Germans seem to have surpassed all previous slaughterers.

At first, smaller or larger persecutions flare up again and again. Vienna i i 81, Speyer xxq y, Halle i roy, Erfurt x zz i. In northern Germany, where Lübeck did not tolerate any Jews within its urban area throughout the Middle Ages and some Jewish settlements were

only established later,

Merklenburg i zzy nevertheless becomes the scene of riots.
tions.

In the years• -35/I2.j6, there are ritual murder charges and Jewish reenactments in Lauda, Fulda and Tauberbischofsheim. In Kitzingen on y. August i zd 3 six Jews and two Jewesses are killed.
two men and one woman were tortured and executed. However, pogroms only broke out towards the end of the i y. century. At the end of the 19th century, anti-Jewish actions of the bloodiest kind shake Franconia and its neighboring countries; to avenge a "desecration of the host" - a false desecration of the host and dews of slain]udcn!-'

The accusation of sacrilege against the host, which had only recently arisen, gradually became more frequent alongside that of ritual sin. Since the twentieth century, the accusation of fountain poisoning has also been made.

The desecration of the hosiery - in which not only blood floB, but The painting of Christ, which is said to be a forerunner of a furnace in which wafers were burned and white doves and angels were also seen floating away. A picture miracle reported by Gregory of Tours (IV Register), according to which a painting of Christ, stolen from a church at night by an idiot and pierced, began to bleed so profusely that the next day the ghastly traces led the Christians to the house of the desecrator, whom they immediately stoned to death.

From such images of Christ or crucifixes traded by Jews, whose blood could be shown in the iz. Century in England as well as in the Lateran in Rome, was probably the way to blood.
the hosts not far. At any rate, since the late *3rd century, many tracts and pulpits have been full of stories about criminal Jews who bought or stole consecrated hosts.
and desecrated them in the most horrible way. What wonder if the body of the Lord then began to bleed terribly and the good Christian people began to beat up the Jewish evildoers again and again.

Throughout the centuries, such stories, as well as infam how moronic, most pogroms have their origin. At the same time

God and the miracle are always part of it - otherwise it would amount to a common crime, an ordinary robbery and murder! Ergo one reads ofr: -da tet god vil zeichene ..." And immediately after that: -Thus the Jews have all been killed. "**

This was also the case in Röttingen an der Taubez on zo. April rxq8, the local Jews were accused of sacrilege. They had torn up the hÍ. They had torn up the Lord's body and crushed it in a mortar, whereupon it began to bleed and work miracles - and even within i ą. century parts of it were given to foreign monks as relics.

Now, however, it was not only the host that bled, but also the Jews- schar Röttingeiis. Under the leadership of a nobleman, a "King Beef" nobilis Rintfleusch, sometimes also called butcher, less name aÍs Menetekel), first of all the Jews of the village were slain, or people. Then rex Rindfleísch, who could of course refer to the "divine instruction" to kill and destroy all Jews (not just a few, just the guilty ones), no, all of them, went out into the country with his butchers. In the forefront a great Krenz, who provoked the Christians to revenge, who wanted to make the Jews defenceless, which they were anyway, they attacked and slaughtered them in well over a hundred villages.

For example, to name just a few, the

The number of victims is usually rather too low: in Ebermannstadt i z; in Eggolsheim i z; in HollfeÍd -7' in Höchstadt 3o; in Forchheim 83¡ in Bamberg, whose bishops -always had an anti-Jewish poli tik operated- (Morlingha us), x z6¡ in Neustadt an der A i s c h • Jr den; in Windsheim 5y; in Mergentheim•7. 'n Taubefbischofsheim 3*: İft Ochsenfurt 34: in Kitzingen i y; iri Ipbofen a5; in Nuremberg 6a8; in Hümheim a5¡ in Nördlingen 8; in Rothenburg ob der Tauber almost 5oo; in Würzburg goo.

Local bishop Manegold von Neuenburg 7*I103) had the Jews put to the sword here on July z3. July to the angry Christian mob - -unde man seite -, as the - Sächsische Weltchronik. Thürîngische Fortsetzung- reports, "daz dit die sache were: man hette unsis herren licham funden zu Wirzeburg in ire schule, und hetten die Joden unsis herren licham mir meBeren nude mir olen durchstochen nude martirte unsin Herren andirweide. Therefore they were all irsla-

In their intensity and in their consequences ... surpassed the
The 'Rintfleisch pogroms' of rag8 clearly reflect the persecutions surrounding the first and second crusades ... In any case, the clergy does not seem to have put up any decisive resistance to the goings-on, as their attitude to the blood wounds of Lauda, Iphofen, Möckmühl, Weikersheim and Würzburg shows" {Ar- noId).

In xqö communities in Thuringia, Hesse, Franconia, the Upper Palatinate and Swabia, for example, the Jews were afflicted and in some cases completely wiped out - a total of around yooo people. In two cases, it was not only -religious- reasons that played a role, but, at least in the case of many indebted Christians, also material ones. The Bohemian Cistercian abbot and historian Perer von Zittau {d. i 339) also states the opinion "that the deed w a s done out of a desire to steal money"
(opinantur tamen alii, quod factum fuerit amore pecuniam rapiendi).*-

A few decades later, from I336 onwards, the Armleder successions took place, which again - in keeping with tradition - started in Röttingen.
In the summer of i 336, he and his horde of Christians slaughtered a total of I OOO Jews between the Tauber and Main rivers. Although King Armleder was already liquidated by the sword on xd. However, he was named "Blessed Arnold" on his tombstone in the church of Uissigheim and his grave became famous for its many miracles thanks to his services to the faith. It was - until the i8. It was visited in particular by the Wallfakrern to Walldürn, who stopped here coming from Fulda. The sand scraped from the gravestone was considered a cure for cattle diseases {Arnold).

And just one year after his death, further calamities befell theJ , and Aschaffenburg and Babenhausen, Büdingen and Friedberg, Andernach, Chochem, Kaub, Koblenz and many others became known as "blood cities".
The Jewish hunts, which were recognized as a kind of continuation of the Crusades as precursors of the Great Northern War, now reached as far as Hesse and the

Two other "King Armleder" figures came to power, a nobleman from Dorlisheim and the innkeeper Johannes Zimberlin from Andlau with allegedly charismatic leadership qualities. And just like "King Rindfleisch", he claimed to have received -through divine inspiration and a heavenly oracle, among other things, the instruction that the Jews were to be destroyed and cleared out of the way throughout the land as enemies of Christ by him and the helpers at his side {Johann von Winterthur).

More than 6ooo Jews died under Christian pranks, according to Heinrich von DieBenhofen, the Thurgau chronicler, canon, cathedral canon and collegiate administrator who died in 376,
-only because their murderers wanted to tear away their temporal goods" {non ob aliud nisi quod eis bona temporalia auferre volebant occisores eorum).-'

This was also the main, if not the only, reason for other persecutions in those days, although the reasons could be very different.

The "Annals of Ensdorf" report succinctly: - i 338. in this year a lot of locusts flew. In the same year, the Jews were burned in Straubing." (i338. Hoc anno volavit mul- titudo locustarum. Eodem anno cremati sunt Judei in Straubing). The -Windberg Annals- also link these Jewish burnings directly to the appearance of the locusts: -Were the Jewish people of that time killed, When many locusts flew through the land- {... est trucidatus, Cum volavere per terras multe locuste).

However, the -Annales Windbergenses- also refer to the then Deggendorf pogrom, in which all of the town's Jews were murdered. And to justify the Christians of Deggendorf, decades later a host legend was invented: "Afterwards," says the Regensburg Chronicle succinctly, "the High Holy Sacrament was found in Deckendorf, which the Jews there then martyred, which is why the Jews were burned to death. A more cosmetic version reads: "It is without a doubt a country- and world-famous matter, which

tion of a poor Christian girl who had displaced her parents: the Jews had received *9* sacredly consecrated wafers, and had treated them in the most disagreeable manner, which sanctissimum until this hour had been placed on a miraculo-

se, and by natural means conserved themselves, according to which the people of Deggendorf, with the help of the Lord of Degenberg, collectively attacked, ravaged [= robbed, plundered], devastated, and burned, and in a word completely exterminated the Jews, so that it was most graciously conceded [= conceded] to retain all the property of the Jews before their own [= as property] ... --'

In fact, Lord Henry "by the grace of God, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria" had shown himself to be extremely generous towards the Jews of Deggendorf.

-Our *invitations to Deggendorf were* burned *and* killed", not only assured them of his favor in a document, but also allowed them to keep whatever they robbed from the murdered Jews, whatever "came into their power secretly or publicly, and even everything they had to pay back. -For this reason, the sureties, pledges and other documents which the Jews held from them, or whatever else they were supposed to repay to them, shall be completely extinguished, and they shall therefore be completely free of these three things vis-à-vis us and all people¡ they shall remain in perpetuity in body and property without any liability to us, our heirs and descendants and vis-à-vis all our officials, and for this reason shall also remain forever unappealed to and unmolested by us, our heirs and all our officials.

A great acquittal, encouragement. But Duke Henry of Gortes Gnaden could afford this. After Jews had been killed in at least zi towns and villages in the Duchy of Lower Bavaria-Landshut, he followed the example of his subjects and also solved his own financial problem by ordering -all Jews in Landshut to be burned and killed, so that only a few escaped - (omnes ludeos in Lansh[ut] comburere et in- terficere precebit, quod pauci evaserunt: Weihenstephaner Anna- len).

A few decades later, Pope Boniface IX granted a five-day indulgence to the newly built Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Deggendorf (like St. Mark's Church in Venice). Deggendorf, which now honored the allegedly desecrated host in a pilgrimage church, which also received a "Jewish altar", including a beautiful picture of the slaughter of the Jews with the caption: -God grant that our fatherland remains free from this hellish shame at all times-, Deggendorf became a -'place of shame". A grandiose pilgrimage began. -Murder, robbery and the founding of lucrative pilgrimage sites, that was the geniak economic accumulation (Krämer-Badoni). First one needed in, then up to 30 BeiChtvä-
tet the thing flourished, ßoriert still in the - - century, still after Hitlet; when the Regensburg bishop completely reinterpreted the grave pilgrimage as -Eucharistic pilgrimage of the diocese" and
the pastor of the -Gnad- church at the "Gnad" celebrations xq83 truly gifted said: I n any case, the grave church is a sin building, whether it is atonement for the sacrilege of the host, as the legend wants, or for the murder of the Jews.

Well, aren't you making progress*!

The pogroms of that time ranged from Carinthia to the Rhine regions, with Jews everywhere being taken to many estates, either drowned or burnt or miserably deprived of their entrails and many poor nobles and burghers made rich by waiving [debt] deeds". Because that was what it was all about. Religious, missionary work achieved little with everyone. Defamations, teachings, supplications, penalties, relic processions, nothing worked. Only as soon as they took up the knife, the axe, only when they had the blood of St. John sprinkled on them and the blood of the crucified one spilled by the Jews was purified or, as in Pulkau, his host, as it was called, completely and completely bloodstained {hostia tit dicitur tota eruentata}, yes, only then did they re-establish the order of the gods Only in this way could individual or entire communities rehabilitate themselves, at least in the short term, always with Christian Catholic momentum. "As a result of this event, the Christians, driven by divine zeal to restore the

On the feast of St. George they burned all the Jews in Pulkau, Retz, Znaim, Horn, Eggenburg, Klosterneuburg and Zwettl and reduced them to ashes. **

A decade later, the persecution culminated in the plague pogroms, which wiped out almost all of Germany's Jewish communities; a catastrophe that was compared to the extermination of Jews during the Second World War.

The plague, brought to Italy from Central Asia via the Crimea, spread throughout Europe between *347 and i 3 y3, especially via the sea routes, the ports, from the Mediterranean to Scandinavia, from the

Atlantic coast, the North Sea, all the way to the Urals. And when it claimed its last victims -3 s3 in Russia, it had deserted zoo ooo villages in Europe, devouring around 3O percent of its total population, i 8 million people.

The devastating spread of the epidemic was greatly facilitated by the dire economic and health conditions, by the typhoons, famines, a plague of locusts that particularly afflicted southern Germany and the Alpine regions, as well as the horrors of war. Boccaccio describes the situation vividly. -Almost everyone was striving towards one and the same cruel goal, namely to avoid and flee the sick and what belonged to them, in the hope of saving themselves in this way. Some were of the opinion that a lean life, free of all opulence, could particularly strengthen the power of resistance ... . Others, however, were of the opposite opinion and affirmed that they should drink much, live well, go about with song and jest, and in all things, as far as they could, satisfy their lust ... There were many who died in the streets by day or night, many who gave up the ghost in their houses and only told their neighbors of their deaths through the stench that rose from their fatal corpses. "*-

Of course, there were various explanatory models for the Black Death, although no valid medical findings.

However, as always in analogous cases, the plague w a s known to be a punishment, a judgment from God. The dear Heavenly Father took his revenge,

took revenge on mankind for all sorts of things. The Flagellants (fiagellatores, cruciferi, paenitentes, better still called gens sine capite, copless people) also believed this. This was the flagellant or fiddler movement that had already started in Perugia and was spreading as if in flight, and which was now whipping through almost all of Europe at the time of the plague: men and women, nobles and peasants, even clerics and monks, although sometimes more, sometimes less heretical. They all punished themselves for their sins and those of mankind, so that, as they sang in one of their songs, "God will die a great death", i q i d/x4 x 6 burned
several hundred of them in northeast Germany.

Next to the Most High, of course, the Jews had a hand in poisoning the wells in order to wipe out the Christian world," writes theologian Konrad von lvtegenberg
(gesi.• i74) not even uncritically. -Bags filled with *gih were* found in many wells and countless Jews were beaten to death ... Truly I do not know whether some Jews did this.
have."

In Chillon, however, the Jew Balavieny, a doctor and surgeon, confessed that under torture in the south of France his co-religionists had supplied a poisonous concoction of spiders, frogs, dried snakes, human egg meat, Christian hearts and consecrated wafers to various Jewish communities and thus contaminated the wells. And just as the entire Jewish community in Chillon was then massacred with ingenious Catholic cruelty, similar massacres followed wherever the fairy tale of Chillon went. The madness, because what was believed was almost always fictitious, spread with the plague from Spain and southern France via Switzerland and Germany to Poland. In France, it followed the onset of the epidemic, in Germany it preceded it, a mixture of penalization and prophylaxis. However, in Mohammedan and Mongolian countries, where the plague was also raging, the Jews were not blamed.

The plague pogroms in Spain and the south of France had a

This had a certain signal effect for Germany, i.e. the Jews were usually liquidated here before the plague came to a head, as a prophylactic measure. And prophylactically, the threatened Jews had sometimes become Christians, so that in Basel it was apparently only possible to liquidate more converted Hebrews. In any case, the entire Jewish population of the city was burned alive on a sandbank in the Rhine, which incidentally freed the city of its debts. In Freiburg im Breisgau, only a few very young Jews were exempted from the burning in order to turn them into Christian children. The synagogue there was then used as a brothel, and the rest of the legacy apparently provoked nasty quarrels between the killers.

In Strafiburg, despite the misgivings of some, everyone finally agreed on the elimination of the Jews, city councillors, the estates, the nobility and the clergy. February, the guilds, led by the butchers, demanded their share of the loot from the Judengasse. And even before the passage

The greedy Christians tore the clothes off the miserable victims at the stake in order to make money. -The chronicler laconically reports that the Jews were b u r n e d on the day of the feast and the Jews were burned on the day of the feast. And it made sense to burn everyone, old and young, men and women, even the rich, who had been promised a safe place outside the city days before in exchange for money, burned zooo Jews in the Jewish cemetery. But before they were driven to their deaths, many a child was killed before their eyes. Those who jumped out of the flames were beaten to death. The Strasbourg chronicler Fritsche Closener (d. around 137 -) easily recognized the money as the real poison, the

killed the Jews. And Jacob Twinger of Königshofcn adds:

-If they had been poor and the nobles had not been indebted to them they would not have b e e n burned."

In Worms, Mainz and Cologne, many Jews burned themselves to death. The memorial books of Worms alone list almost öoo victims - and Emperor Charles IY graciously handed over to the Christians everything that had previously been Jewish property. In Cologne, the city and archbishop shared the spoils.

In Nuremberg, where the Jews were attacked between December y and 7, i3 q - "Die Juden wurden verprant an sant Niclos abent" -, a total of 6z people were killed and burned, more than a third of the Nuremberg community - "Rabbi Joseph, ...
his wife Chandlin and his daughter Rabbi Jechiel hakohen, his wife Jutra and his three children; Rabbi Isaac, ... his wife Jach- net, his son, the young Rabbi Baruch, his mother-in-law; the old woman Hanna, his daughter Mrs. Minna, her son, the boy Koplin and their (remaining) six children ... - Some of the Jewish houses on the market square were t o r n down and St. Mary's Church was built in place of the "Judenschul".

There was merciless murder in Thuringia, in all villages and towns," an Erfurt chronicle records, "they were killed because t h e y poisoned the springs and wells; as was claimed at the time, many sacks of poison were found in them. They were killed in Gotha, Eisenach, Arnstadt, Ilmenau, Nebra, Wy [Wiehe?], Thamsbrück, Tennstedt, Hermsleben, Frankenhausen and Weißensee."

On zi. March• 3 49, more than a hundred Jews are also killed in Erfurt. They defended themselves with crossbows and spears in the synagogue until they succumbed to the overwhelming force. But more than 3ooo
out of fear of the inevitable fate, burned themselves to death in their homes - in a kind of piety (pro quadam sanctitate)". After three days, they were taken to the cemetery in carts and buried. The pious chronicler adds:
• May they be in hell!

The few Jews who lived in the Hanseatic cities of Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Greifswald were also taken to the chfists, burned alive or buried alive. Likewise, in western Poland, in the lands of the Teutonic Order, almost all Jews perished, they were stabbed, beaten to death, burned to death or drowned. And where no confessing Jews were found, those who were bought were thrown into the fire.

One might ask whether the Jewish pogroms are not being presented here in too much detail, too "massaged". But in reality - a n d this is, of course, true for the whole of Crimea.

nal history of Christianity - everything w a s still far more extensive here.

For example, just to touch on this, the so-called moral offense, which invariably concerned sexual intercourse between Jewish men and Christian women. This sexual intercourse, which was strictly forbidden by the church syiiods, including the Fourth Lateran Council, and then so perhor- rized by the Nazis as a denial of Christianity and apostasy, was often e q u a t e d with sexual intercourse with animals in the Christian Catholic Middle Ages and punished accordingly rigorously. For example, in the Schwabenspiegel, often titled -kayserlich Rechtsbuch- or the like and written around

*•7S was written in Augsburg, very probably by a Frenchman. He has adapted the Jewish law provisions of his model, the famous Sachsenspiegel (I2.2.o-I Z3§) by Eike von Repgow, around

numerous anti-Jewish legal sentences based on canon law, including the Jews, in contrast to the Sachsenspiegel,

-eigen- {as much as serf, slave) and "the rich man's servant". The Swabian Mirror, which was once widespread, considered coitus between Jews and Christian women to be a capital offense and punished it with death by fire, the burning of the couple lying on top of each other. The Augsburg city law of

Jahr 1276.

According to the law of Iglau {Iglavia, Jihlava) - the West Moravian mountain town near the Bohemian border was an important X Catholic base against the Hussites and expelled -4< 5 the Jews -

both sex offenders were buried alive. The Old Prague

City law punished such (if not racial, then religious) disgrace with punishment and confiscation of property. At times, however, Jews in Prague were "only" punished for "skin and hair". According to Mainz law, coitus with a Christian woman cost the Jew his limb: - the rod and an eye".

For sexual contact in brothels, the Schwabenspiegel initially threatened both the Jew and the girl with burning, later they were satisfied with flogging the Jew. In Vienna, he w a s imprisoned until he had to pay ten marks for having sexual intercourse with a Christian woman. But the Christian woman who "loved her

lasseri", was to be driven out of the city forever with a severe beating. hunt - decreed z *7 the Æien church synod.

After the great plague, the persecution was no different from the plague-like diseases. And the Jews, greatly reduced in numbers, expelled, soon returned off, often even to those communities that had persecuted them only a short time ago and not infrequently called them back themselves {in order to be able to take them out again, expel them again, call them again ...).

Nuremberg took in its first Jewish citizens as early as 3ąg wİflder. And in Augsburg, the Shit 13Ş5 was once again under the protection of a city that had slain it just a few years earlier. However, when an epidemic once again raged there and far and wide in 38o, causing people to walk for hours on end "with God's name and all their belongings", another Jewish community nearby was also wiped out - "then the people of Nördlingen killed all their Jews, men, women and children, who amounted to two hundred.

So alÍes went on - for centuries.

Of course, *it has been said* for centuries, even today, that some popes and emperors have granted the Jews rights and protection. What about that?

T H E "JU DENF RE U Hi D LI CH KEI T" CROWNED Hä U PTER A ND T H E N ERV U S RERUM

Certainly, there were individual popes who issued letters of protection and protective bulls in favor of the Jews. For example, at the beginning of the early Middle Ages Gregory I, İrtt I2. Century Alexander III, ifrl 13th Gregory IX. odor Innozcnz lV. But aside from the fact that this advocacy for the Jews had virtually no effect, especially not at Dauez, which is only too understandable in view of the immense abundance of the most shy anti-Jewish church literature; aside also from the fact that some of it was perhaps not meant (entirely) seriously, merely a noble apostolic gesture that could be presented at any time; even the

above-mentioned advocacies for the Jews were not meant at all.

The popes who used the Jews more often and much more clearly opposed sic.

Gregory I, the Great, the saint, the doctrine of the Church; who is said never to have spoken to Jews himself, he scolded them for their lack of faith; of the devil, did not consider their confession to be religion at all, but superstition, he forbade them the ban, the expansion of synagogues, forbade them any missionary activity, forbade them any influence at all in the lives of Christians {IV *77 ff.).

Alexander III decreed at the Third Lateranum (i x yq), in-
in which he repeated a very old anti-Jewish decree that Christians were not allowed to minister to Jews, and that Jews, like St. Augustine, should only be left alive so that they could bear witness to the glory of Christ through their misfortune.

Pope Gregory IX *described them in* a book of zz33 "blasphemers of God, blasphemers of the blood of Christ". They are -unfaithful-, "false-, they give themselves in their houses, surrounded by arms, servants, -unheard things, which arouse disgust and horror in those who know about them". For this reason, the Pope decrees that -the aforementioned and other outrages of the Jews in your dioceses, churches and parishes are to be suppressed at all costs, so that they do not raise their necks, which are bent under eternal servitude.

Gregory lX. - a friend of the Jews?

One year laterq i a34 , the pope has declared this eternal servitude to the
Jews in a five-part code of law, the "Liber extra". And iß3Q he orders the kings of England, France, Navarre, Aragon, Castile and Portugal and their prelates to take away all books from the Jews on a Sabbath when they are in their synagogues and hand them over to the mendicant friars.

The confiscated editions were confiscated and I^4* no less than zą Wageriladun- gon of confiscated copies of the Talmud were burned.

Finally, Innocent IV, who wrote the "beautiful BulÍe" of i a4 y crliØ-B, in which he so urgently deplores the furious persecution of the Jews, laments that they are being robbed of their property, harassed with imprisonment and other tortures - "and many of them are being killed in a cruel way".

in the most terrible way, so that the Jews under the rule of these princes, rulers and nobles have a more terrible lot than their fathers under Pharaoh in Egypt ..." - as if the Church had not first and foremost imposed this fate on them! -, Irinocent IV is as anti-Jewish as his predecessors and the entire community of saints.

Yes, he also issued the dreadful bull "Ad exsńrpanda" in favor of the Inquisition and allowed the use of torture, and just one year after the beginning of his pontificate, in the tellingly opening edict "Impia Judaeorum Perfidia", he called for further book burnings *-47 although he allowed Jews to burn books.
possession of the Talmud, but at the same time orders its censorship and ÍäBt
am i y. MßÌ 12.ą 8, through his legate Odo of Tusculum, finally condemned the Jewish Bach and ordered it to be burned. This is followed by four more Talmud burnings in France alone over the next decades; in Europe, they are followed by
until -7s7. -Seamlessly-, writes the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche inn Jahre zooo chrisdiches Zeitrechnung, -the development continues from here to anti-Jewish combat writings ... and
the inflammatory writings of the National Socialist era".

So even among those popes who, for whatever reason, are always in favor of the Jews, there is not a single Phi- losemite. On the contrary, even among them the anti-Jewish attitude prevailed enormously. The overwhelming majority of medieval popes, like the entire Christian church of this millennium, are thoroughly hostile to Jews. And it was precisely the ecclesiastical leaders, especially the great Lateran councils, who widened and deepened the gulf between Christians and Jews, who stirred up anti-Semitism and fanaticism, who shook Europe with assertions t h a t the higher clergy knew were false, but for which they themselves had prepared the way. Once the avalanche had started rolling, it was no longer in the power of the pope or the bishops to stop it in its terrible course" (Abba Eban).

At the beginning of the late Middle Ages in the first half of the 3rd century, hostility towards the Jews was still growing.

The Holy Fathers, Innocent III, Honoiius III and Gregory IV, contributed significantly to this. The name of each of these popes, writes G. Kisch, -reveals an entire anti-Jewish program. And of course they are not the exception, they are the rule. Almost all the hierarchs of the Middle Ages basically thought like Nicholas IV, the first Franciscan pope, whose anti-Jewish bull of i z88 called on the inquisitors, the spiritual and secular potentates, to take action against the Jews and against all those who defended or favored Jews. -Punish them as they deserve".

However, most emperors, kings and princes were similarly anti-Jewish in t h e i r orientation and, like the whole of Christendom, were exposed to and deeply influenced by persistent anti-Jewish slogans. And it was precisely from ecclesiastical teaching and legislation, the theological Servitus Judaeorum, that the ruling institution emerged that was given the name of chamber servitude.

The German monarchs in particular took on the obligation to protect the Jews, certainly not in a selfish way. And why should they? They did not think one iota better of them than the popes and the entire Christian clergy. Even the most enlightened mind of his century, Emperor Frederick II, wrote• *i 7 in his Privilegium for the City of Vienna:

"True to the duties of a Catholic prince, we conclude the
Jews from public office, so that they do not use the power of office to oppress Christians; for the imperial power has from time immemorial imposed perpetual servitude on the Jews as a punishment for Jewish crime."

However, it was not the imperial power, but the ecclesiastical power. Augustine had already spoken of the eternal servitude of the Jews, the Servitus Ju- daeorum, perhaps more in a theological-spiritual sense, even if the sentence -The Jew is the slave of the Christian - does not exactly support this. And Thomas Aquinas, for whom, as his Summa Theologiae doctrine (which was regarded as the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and i 8 yq Leo XIII declared to be the always authoritative philosophy, philosophia perennis, of the Church), -the Jews are slaves of the Church-, Thomas clearly understands their servitude in material terms. -As the Jews are handed over to eternal servitude

the princes may dispose of their earthly goods as if they were their own property. *-

The princes made extensive use of this generous permission from Aquinas, although they had of course already allowed themselves all sorts of things earlier, after the protective letters of the late Carolingian emperors and kings had gradually created a relationship of dependency for the Jews that increased to the point of chamber servitude. For they were only regarded as "a kind of serf or servant of the rulers who consequently regarded themselves as owners of the Jewish property or at least had a permanent mortgage on it and occasionally confiscated it completely and in any case collected regular and extraordinary taxes" {Browe).

However, it is hard to believe that the chamber's Jews in the history of law up to the •- J century was regarded as a progress in legislation, as an improvement, although it was only an improvement in the exploitation of what was above

The Jews may have lived better in Germany up to now by virtue of the Landfriedensordnungen, although their protection now dwindled more and more, their insecurity and lack of freedom increased, the extortions

' increased, the robberies, expulsions, exterminations, in short, the Kaitimerknechtschafr became a "legal mask for screaming injustice" (Krämer-Badoni), or, to put it more articulately, "changed from a personally binding protective relationship to a disposable financial right of use of the entitled party" (Battenbcrg).

You can see a lot from such formulations, the main thing in passing. This is how history is usually written, so neatly, so cleanly But does it look so clean? From the letters of protection of the rulers, the servitude of the Jews emerged first in western France, then in England, where in the first half of the i th century the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor stated: -The Jews and all theirs belong to the king."

In Germany, too, the Jews belonged to the "chamber" of the emperor. And it was Ludwig lV the Bavarian who introduced the -guldin pfenning-, the first currency to be issued to the German Jews, towards the middle of the x4J century.

Jews imposed regular state xophteuet; by imposing an-

at the beginning of the year i 34 k StlfZlmte, 8that every Jew and every Jü-

din, who is a widow, and those who are twelve years old and have twenty guilders' worth, each and every one, shall give one guilder every year as interest from their bodies - . This provision already implies a state of bondage; for whoever pays a tribute for himself, for himself as a person, no matter when and to whom, is no longer free. The very next year, the emperor expresses this ambiguously: - All Jews belong to us with their bodies and their property, and we can do with them whatever we want and however we please." With this succinct dictum, he canceled all debts owed to the Nuremberg burgrave by named Jews.

Emperor Charles IV adopted this declaration by his predecessor.

and shamelessly exemplified. He concluded profitable agreements with several municipalities, Frankfurt and Nuremberg, for the murder and robbery of the Jews there. For ry aoo pounds Heller he ceded his rights on zy. J - *i4' he transferred his rights

the Jews of Frankfurt (-their bodies and property, their farms, houses

churchyard and schoolyard, their property and their inheritance") to the town, guaranteeing in advance that they would not be punished for any deaths of the Jews,

-it would be what it would be from, or would come from what it would come from". The rech-

The idea worked. When, a little later, the Frankfurt Christians "their- J-den attacked and stabbed them, Passed the city their fortune.-'

The cession of rights over the Jews, the "servants {servi) of the imperial chamber", as first described iz36 by Frederick II when the Jewish privilege of Worms was renewed, the cession of the Jews to bishops, cities, nobles, who then taxed them and through whom they also seduced others, gradually became more and more popular. This was because the rulers saved themselves a lot of pe- curiary problems. They relinquished their carnal servitude in exchange for cash or at least paid off mountains of debt or other obligations.

Heinrich Raspe, who had reason to give the Würzburg

to be grateful to the bishop, who• ^47 has protected the local Jews

against

a3oo marks, which incidentally suited the Würzburg bishops better than the Würzburg Jews. For although their pledge was only intended for the king's lifetime and they were to return to the chamber servitude of the empire after his death, the Würzburg bishops now collected the considerable tax money from the Jews themselves.

The Jews were a regalia, the only regalia about people. And like the other regalia, such as market, mint, customs, mining and salt regalia, forestry and hunting regalia, convoy and beach regalia, dyke regalia, etc., the Judenregal could also be exploited as a sovereign right of the crown, used financially, it could, as so cleverly formulated, become "a disposable financial right of use of the rightholder", also and especially through sale, through transfer into the hands of the domini terrae, the bishops, the cities, the free imperial cities in particular, which kept it the longest, until the dissolution of the empire in 8o6.

Since emperors and kings could ultimately do "anything we want and as we please" with the Jews, a supreme stroke of the pen was often e n o u g h , and a powerful person, a poor rich person; a prince, a bishop, was rid of his liabilities.'-.

In the diocese of Bamberg, where Jews have been documented since the end of the i th century, they were difficult to "teach", but the prelates' debts were easily increased. However, even the persecution of the Jews in Bamberg and Nuremberg under Bishop Leu- pold I von Gründlach (***9 -1303)** was unable to reduce the debt burden of the diocese.
diocese could not be reduced. His successor Wulfing
from the damage to the Jews - by Emperor Henry VII, who simply annulled the bishop's arrears, and Louis the Bavarian confirmed r 33a the decree. Of course, the decision did not last long. In the year i 3 y3, immediately after his elevation, Bishop Leopold III rushed to Ulm to see the king, who without further ado canceled all debts owed to **Jews** by Bamberg's chief shepherds up to i 3qq, before the great pogrom, and collected all corresponding letters of debt and guarantees.

Würzhurg's head honcho Otto II von Wolfskeel { i 33 i-* 3451 was also deep in payment arrears.

already considerable when he ascended the bishop's see, which was held by SØİft RivaĺeHermann 11 Hummel von Lichtenberg, the emperor's chancellor, after a double election in 333. When Bishop Hermann

However, when Bishop Wolfskeel died on July i i 33 y and was able to move into Würzburg in the same month, he had to undertake to the cathedral chapter to assume the liabilities of his predecessor. In addition, the pope had to pay a third of his annual income amounting to a3oo guilders. He had also taken on high sums from Bamberg Jews, etc. Here the Holy Father stepped in. On i. March r33ö Benedict XIL wrote from Avignon that some Jews from some dioceses had fraudulently inflated the bishop's income; he therefore released him from all burdens. He canceled them without replacement, released the guarantors from *their* liability and required the Jews to surrender their letters of debt under threat of exclusion from communion with the Christians - the first repayment of Jewish debts in Würzburg. And yet Bishop **Otto** had to borrow from the Jews again after just a few years.

The Würzburg Bishop Gerhard von Schwarz occasionally offered a more individualized method of "disposal".

burg (- i7*-thoo). Under him, too, the Hochstift (that is nothing other than the diocese, the secular, so to speak, the material side of the "clergy", which is verbalized to the unsuspecting

karin) was heavily in debt, even if the bishop had more than just financial difficulties.

The problems began after the death of his predecessor with a double election, whereby Gerhard first had to conquer a large part of the diocese, which was done by **force** and deception, especially in relation to his episcopal city. He was even at war with part of his own clergy, particularly because of constant demands for money, so that he had the Doindekan banished and two of his canons imprisoned. He also had the youth Krosche from Weimar captured. Krosche was one **day** imprisoned in the bishop's dungeon, without us knowing why, although we can imagine why. But the collaboration flourished there. And before Jude

Krosche regained his "freedom", he swore not to allow himself to be -alienated- or otherwise -glorified- by Bishop von Schwarzburg, and last but not least, he absolved him of all obligations to him. Nevertheless, it was of little use to the weighty shepherd. Just as it obviously did him little good that he built a Marian chapel in place of the burnt-down **synagogue.** As heavily in debt as he had taken over the estate, so heavily in debt did he leave it, with almost all castles and towns mortgaged. "Enormous sums of money had flowed into his hands, -horrendous ... sums", especially through perennial tax advances from his cities. And he had spent most of this income "above all ... ... for the fight against the cities of the Hochstift (Scherzer)."

If we now return from our carefully considered aspect to general history, we should at least recall that it was the Christians who drove the Jews into the money business. Originally a herdsman and farmer, in the course of the Middle Ages he was no longer allowed to own land or become a craftsman. By the Carolingian period, he was already trading regularly - iudaeus and mercator are almost synonymous.

But even as merchants, the Jews were increasingly excluded by the Christians. Thus, since the Church had tightened the Old and New Testament ban on interest, especially at the Roman Synod in 1979, they were left almost exclusively with the money business.

It is true that the Jews were not the **only** money lenders in the Middle Ages.

and certainly not, with a few exceptions, the most important ones. Rather, they often collected small sums from farmers and craftsmen, but gradually made themselves popular with the masses, while their masters, who profited from these transactions, remained in the background. And they, the lords, not the lenders, also determined the interest rate. And this ranged according to a legal regulation - < 43 ', up to ar6 percent.'-.

3- CHAPTER

HEINRICH VII, A FRENCH KING, A FRENCH POPE AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLARS

-All the confessions thus obtained were presented to the Pope, who sought to preserve a remnant of universal jurisdiction by ordering the **execution of** all the Knights Templar in all the countries of Christendom.
In addition, Clemens V hoped to take control of the Order's huge fortune if he led the pursuers - Joachim Ehlers'

The much-discussed question of the guilt of the Ternpler Order can **now,** after recent research has provided much valuable source material, be answered with certainty that the Order as such was not guilty ... No value can be attached *to* the seriously incriminating confessions of the Templars which were obtained by torture or by fear of torture. Thus the harsh judgment of Johannes Haller is justified ..."
Franz Xaver Seppeli

-The firmness with which the unfortunate men faced their fate, confessed their innocence once again and appealed to God's judgment made a deep impression on the audience. deep impression on the spectators. The event confirms what we have long known: that the end of the Order of the Temple is the most monstrous judicial murder known to history, committed by the French state, initially unhindered, patiently and finally encouraged by the **Pope. -** John Haller'

A Mxs sizs from LoxroauzG

After the assassination of Albrecht of Habsburg Z j OÜ {p. j74 1, the French King Philip IV the Fair attempted to ascend his younger brother Charles of Valois to the German-Roman throne and to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire.

This would have made 3hr the master of Europe. However, the German electors, especially Peter Aspelt, the Archbishop of Mainz, who then also won the election of John the Baptist, thwarted the ambitious intentions of the French, who were already thinking ahead.

hanns of Bohemia (I3 i o) and Louis of Bavaria {-3 41 and his colleague Balduin of Luxembourg. Launched onto the archbishopric of Trier with French support, the

Balduin made a promise to Philip the *Fair* and brought not his brother but his own brother to the German throne.

Henry VII (i3o8-z j13), son of the Count of Luxembourg and La Roche, a middle-ranking feudal lord, not exactly financially strong, but ruler of a territory that cannot be confused with the present-day branch state of that name, became the founder of the Luxembourg royal and imperial dynasty. In his youth, he spent time at the French court, his mother tongue was also French, and he himself had been a vassal of the French king since i vgl.

At the time of his election in Frankfurt• •7 November i 308, Hein- rich was about forty years old and was forced to take over the reins of power in Germany, where he initially had a relatively weak domestic power (although his son Johann r 3 i o had a relatively weak power in Bohemia, the later center of the Luxem-

burgep), could reckon with certain animosities of the Rhenish royal

electors against regents who preferred to live in their

turf. He was also aware of the opportunities for conflict with other great powers, such as Habsburg, Bohemia or Bavaria. So from the outset, he concentrated on Italy, a trip to Rome, the consolidation of the Hohenstaufen empire, the Renovatio linperii, in short, on winning the imperial crown. **Already** on payday, in his election announcement, the *on,* the date for the coronation had been requested from the Pope and formally promised by him.

Whether Henry's plans were anachronistic, as has been repeatedly suggested, need not concern us. If his undertaking had been a success, if his successors had been able to build on it and add sufficient splendor and glory, what historian would have found the matter untimely? For most, only "success" and "failure" determine their judgment, as historiography shows, which is why it is as disgusting as history.

Henry was encouraged by the cries of the Ghibellines, who, fighting with the Guelphs from the Alps to the far south, expected an ally in him; among them Dante Alighieri, exiled for decades and twice condemned to death, who at that time called out to the princes and peoples of Italy:

-See, now is the joyful time,
in which the signs of consolation and peace announce themselves ...
Rejoice, Italy ... For your bridegroom is
approaching for the wedding, the consolation
of the world
and the glory of your people,
the divine Augiistus and Caesar
the kindest Heinrich.

But there were also many who longed for the authority of the empire, its so-called order, its law, there were many, probably even more, who rather feared or even loathed all this, for whom the existing chaos still seemed preferable or less devastating than a new inferno by an emperor*

Even the Pope, Clement V, who was admittedly not in Italy at the time

The pope, who was sitting on the throne, praised the German ruler effusively, praising him as hardly any German king had ever been praised by an Italian pope: "Let the peoples subject to the Roman Empire rejoice, for behold, their peace-bringing king, exalted with divine grace, whose face the whole earth longs to behold, comes to them with meekness, so that he, sitting on the throne of majesty, may dispel all evils with his mere wave and devise thoughts of peace for his subjects.-

Whatever may have been behind this, perhaps the hope of reducing his dependence on the French lord, or even the expectation of his emancipation - the Pope did not give any money, which Henry had asked for to finance the Rornfahrt, and *in fact refused* any ecclesiastical income. But *after* the king had found support in Germany, having come to an arrangement with the Wettins, to whom he left Thuringia and Meifia, as well as with the Habsburgs, who had been excluded from the royal election and whose lands he confirmed, he set out in the fall of i3to from Colmar via Bern, Lausanne and Mont Cenis into a land of freedom, parricularism and anarchy, a land of politically and economically often wildly competing cities and city-states, torn apart by countless disputes, feuds and petty wars, a land that looked forward to Henry's move with excitement, while he found little interest in Germany. His army; moderately large, had few princes, the dukes of Austria, of Brabant, the bishops of Liège, Basel, Henry's brothers Walram, the Count of Luxembourg, and Balduin, the

3 7• Only twenty-two years old, he had risen to become Archbishop of Trier and then again played a major role in the rise of the Luxembourgs to become one of the leading houses in Europe.

At first everything went well, so to speak. Germany was pacified by necessity, Italy, which Henry reached at the end of October ty xo, longed for peace, and he wanted to bring it, wanted to stand above the parties, even knew how to attract numerous Lombard Guelphs¡ many bishops rushed to him with their cleaners, increased his rear, doubled, tripled it - peace ...

In January i 3 i i Henry laid siege to Milan and was crowned King of Italy with great ceremony in the cathedral there on the 6th of the month, just as Henry VI had been crowned last and over a century ago. And as was often the case with coronations of German potentates on the other side of the Alps, the festivities now t u r n e d hostile and on in. On January 1, there was an uprising against the king, whose reputation as a peacemaker was now fading, who from then on was less and less able to keep out of the general dispute, who w a s increasingly caught up in the conflicts between Ghibellines and Griffins, between rival cities and all possible fronts.

Opposition to Henry f o r m e d , led in particular by Bologna and Florence, and the Liixemburger quickly turned from the longed-for messiah into a despot, becoming all the more unpopular t h e more money he needed. His brother, the shepherd of Trier, carried his own wagon full of silver and gold coins, the war chest he had lent to the king. But the money had to be replenished again and again, money had to be fetched again a n d a g a i n , a new enemy had to be fought again and again. And that was not enough. Finally, he demanded "homage, war contributions and military service from all Italians without exception" (Kretschmayr).

- Peace ...

Thus, what began as a peace campaign soon became a war campaign of the greatest brutality, of cruel sieges and casualties. Brescia, one of the most imposing cities in the country, defended itself for four months, with heavy losses on both sides. Henry lost more than half of his army and also lost Walram, his brother. Much is reminiscent of Barbarossa's atrocities (VI 5 i 3 ff.!). When the Stadthert; Tebaldo de Brusatis, who had previously been much supported by the king, was captured in a counterattack, the most benevolent Henry {Dante) had the rebel dragged around the walls on a cowhide and then dismembered piece by piece in front of the eyes of the disheveled townsfolk - he had his head cut off and his body cut into fours and placed on four wheels and placed at four ends of the city with his paniers. Brescia then hanged his prisoners on the curtain wall, the

-divine Augustus" protected his own. As famine and plague were also raging in the city, it capitulated on September 8. Cremona surrendered before it was surrounded, barefoot and with a rope around its neck, its citizens begged for mercy and were punished in a barbaric manner.

In winter the king's wife Margarethe, his cousin, a daughter of Duke John 1. of Brabant, died in friendly Genoa, where Henry was able to replenish his dwindling army with supplies from Germany and continue his military campaign in February via Pisa, which had been unwavering in its support and provided him with ample funding; three cardinal legates in his heart; a few bishops, the Abbot Henry of Fulda, also Egidius of Warnsberg, the soon to fall Abbot of Weißenburg in Elsafi, plus two thousand horsemen and foot soldiers, occasionally *reinforced* by the soldiers of various cities, Todi, *Amelia, Event,* Spoieto.

In Rome, about -7 OOO inhabitants, partly deserted, areas covered with ruins or cultivated by peasants, barricaded streets in between, entrenched houses; towers, fortresses, in

Henry could only force his entry into Rome with bloodshed. The city was divided, occupied in part by the mercenaries of the King of Naples and his brother John, Count of Gravina, and by hostile nobles, dominated by Guelphs there and Ghibellines there, with the Vatican and the Lateran as its centers. They advanced; fought back, storm bells ringing, daily entrenchments built, entrenchments demolished, daily punitive battles, devastation. The conquered towers and houses were burnt down; the Minerva quarter partly went up in flames ... As in the darkest Middle Ages, armored bishops and clergymen, swords in fists, fought over punitive redoubts. The great barricade of the Laurentius Statii of Campo di Fiore fell by storm. The imperial troops drove the Orsini before them; their pillaged palaces burned. In wild fury they had already reached the Angels' Bridge ..." (Gregorovius). But neither Engelsbrücke nor Engelsburg fell. And despite many insidious attacks and all the battles, the city of Leost with St. Petey, the traditional stronghold of the coronation, could not be taken.

duin an Orsini's head and had himself immortalized in the colourful pictorial chronicle he commissioned.

But it was only when the people stormed the militia tower and threatened the legates with death that they were prepared to crown Henry VII in the Lateran on June 3, thus putting an emperor at the head of the empire for the first time in 6s years. {The coronation tax was paid by the Roman Jews alone, although the money-hungry emperor soon imposed a compulsory tax on the entire people). There were many breaches of form at the ceremony. And the pope was absent anyway, as he had in the meantime, under pressure from Philip, approached his vetreq King Robert of Naples, who demanded the abolition of the emperorship in a letter to him. He had been declared an enemy of the empire by Henry, who did not want to wage war against him but wanted to chastise him as a vassal, had been outlawed after a trial for 16 - Ä III 13 I } crimes against the empire and sentenced to death in absentia.

Henry began to move against him in the summer. Exhorted by Clement Yi to ceasefire, he forbade any intervention from Avignon, denied the pope the right to order the Roman emperor to ceasefire and even to intervene in secular affairs. And while more and more of Henry's comrades-in-arms fell away, his troops dwindled steadily, help flowed in again, money from Sicily, fleets and fighters from Ghibelline cities, too archers from Genoa, 3ooo foot soldiers from Pisa, yoo cavalry in total already over qooo German and Italian cavalrymen, An army of his son John of Bohemia was also expected in order to finally wage war on Anjou in Naples and finally destroy him, while Pope Clement V had already taken precautionary measures to protect King Robert and threatened anyone who w a g e d war against him with ecclesiastical banishment.

In the meantime, the emperor had razed castles around Florence, ravaged the fields, turned Tuscany into a desert, as it was called, and reddened the banks of the Arno with blood. But just as he had besieged Florence itself for months, admittedly in vain, so too did the storm on Siena, and not far from there, in Buonconvento, Henry VII H*4- AtigUSt i 3 i 3 died prematurely

He died of malaria - unless, as was once almost universally assumed, a Dominican friar in Montepulciano gave him death with a forbidden host, a harsh rumor that led to the monks of his monastery being stabbed to death, without any solid proof, even today.

Henry's intention to pump out as much money as possible from imperial Italy, more lofty plans aside, in order to compete successfully with France's king in particular, failed. Philip the Fair, however, also in need of money, had a more original idea to obtain money, an enormous amount of money, an idea whose implementation also proved to be less risky, at least for him - he robbed and ruined the Templars.

WITH LAN ZEN Ui'4D FIN xzxx

The ecclesiastical orders of knights had come into being in the course of the iz. Century (VI 46o ff.). The first was founded by the French knight Hugh de Payens (de Paganis) i i i 8 in Jerusalem, the Templeq Templarii, fratres Templi, milites Templi or; the official reading, -The Poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon", a name that was derived from the main house of the order above the supposed Temple of Solomon (today the A'j}a Mosque). Innocent II's bull "Omne datum optimum" placed the Templars i i 3q directly under the Pope. However, their actual protector, chief ideologue and agitator was one of the most famous saints of the Christian era.

stentum, Doctor of the Church Bernhard von Clairvaux {Vl 4 4 f.!). In his opus "De lande novae militiae ad Milites Templi", he celebrated the -nouvelle cheva1erie-, which was then combined with the idea of the -just

War" (bellum iustum: I s*4 f.!).

-So a t t a c k without fear, you knights, had &rnhard the new -Christ's glory on earth, a military caste proud of its nobility, which then led the -almost perpetual war campaigns of the Or- deris. F r o m t h e -table of the Lord" the Templar was to

-fearlessly and like a lion rush into battle" {WetzerfWelte). He was not allowed to avoid the battle, not even against an enemy three times his size. This, the constant crusade, the continued struggle, why e the most important means ... to asceticism and sanctification {Demurger). And even the Templar battle cry "Long live the God of love!" should have been enough - indeed understandable enough - to cause confusion among the opponents.

In any case, these knights were seen as arrogant, foolhardy daredevils.

They were feared, especially in the Orient, where, like the Knights of St. John, they defended the Crusader states and built one castle after another, sometimes with enormous surrounding walls, which cost huge sums of money, such as the reconstruction of the fort of Safed in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which was destroyed in viill, by 8zo craftsmen and boo slaves. The fortress was impregnable, but fell iz66 through treachery. The Templars also created mighty fortifications on the Iberian Peninsula, such as Miravet or Monzón, a castle which, after being rebuilt, was the headquarters of the Arabian Templars from i i y y until it was besieged and surrendered i 3og by the troops of James fl. of Aragon when the order was destroyed - i 7.

The Templars only recognized the Pope above them. They had Thousands of serfs among them had their own clergy, their own churches, priesthoods and strict morals that obliged them to obedience, poverty and chastity. They were whipped and thrown into the dungeon for even a minor sin. They had to avoid the kiss of any woman, whether girl, widow, maiden aunt or pig, like the plague, indeed ($ y 3 of the rules of the order) they were not even allowed to look a woman in the eye. So they kept boys as mates, although this was also forbidden, since homosexuality flourished in the order like hardly anywhere else. But every Templar had a servant, some even had two servants.

At times, the order included i 5 ooo knights from almost all Christian countries, plus three times as many servants and slaves. Discipline played a major role. As he had to promise when he was accepted, everyone had to "renounce their own will", had to

"to be a faithful servant of the house - to serve the order like a slave and serf. Orders from the head of the order, the Grand Master, were regarded as an expression of divine will. Disobedients disappeared into the dungeon forged on chains.

The Templars enjoyed a high degree of reliability, especially towards the Pope, whose special favorites they were from the beginning, but also towards crowned heads, not least French ones. Finally, hard knights from Champagne founded the community. The Master of the Order; later Grand Master; Ebrardus de Barris {de Barres), a Frenchman, was the leader at the
Crusade of i -47 the army of Louis VU. through the perils of Asia Minor, -again weighed down with a lot of women" (Menzel). However, the ruler wrote to Abbot Suger of Saint-Deriis that he did not see and could not see "how I could have even the most
I could have remained or stayed in those regions for the longest period of time without the help and support [of the Templars], which I never lacked from the first day I was in those regions". However, the further advance led to the debacle at Laodicea at the beginning of January - *4 i 47* ff.J.

But Terricus Galerannus, the king's chapellain and a
ner of his main advisors, was close to the **Templars** and joined the order in '63. Likewise, Fr. A}fmärdus, one of the most important officials of Philip II Augustus, was Templar treasurer for an unusually long time, from i zou bfs I lj y. However, in France, where there was a particularly dense network of their branches, the Templars also acted as royal bankers, their house, in Temple, as a collection point for taxes and dues, as a kind of central bank, whereby a separate treasury had existed in the Louvre since i zgy. However, it was also a French king who, together with the Pope, was to smash and rob the Temple.'°

The knights had moved their headquarters to i - 7 *-n Jerusalem to Akkori, a lucrative base for Italian merchants. They then moved via the castle of Chastel Pélerin, south of
from Haifa, the last Crusader fortress evacuated by the Latins (used as a quarry since the xgth century), to the island of Ruad and Cyprus, until its destruction.

headquarters. However, unlike the]ohannitei, their opponents and heirs, they did not gain their own territorial rule.

Nevertheless, the Templars were enormously wealthy.

The popes had showered them with privileges and immunities, exempting them from feudal obligations, dependencies, tithes, customs duties and taxes of all kinds, granting them freedom from interdict and the right of asylum; they could neither be judged nor excommunicated by bishops. And since they, like the Johannitep, were particularly connected to the land of the Nazarene, their prayers and intercession were considered particularly effective, which is why they received alms in abundance, gifts and generous donations from all parts of the Christian world. They had considerable landholdings in the Orient, around io yoo farms in the year i 3oy; but they also had numerous s e i g n e u r i a l estates in Europe, from Spain to Scotland, from France to Hungary, and owned many settlements and churches, especially in Western and Central Europe, which are still remembered by names such as Tempelberg (Fürstenwalde district) or Berlin-Tempelhof in Germany.

In particular, the Templars were financial experts and of course They were intent on maximizing profits everywhere, including through a powerful fleet, large-scale passenger transport, ships that carried well over a thousand people, their own markets and the use of trade fairs. In the middle of the zo. In the middle of the 20th century, their income was estimated at almost io billion francs in the currency of the time. They had qooo castles and their religious houses were world banks. However, they not only maintained their own funds, but also treasuries and depositories. They invested money, transferred funds and handled payment transactions with private individuals, pilgrims, merchants, clerics and princes, especially the kings of France and England. Even emperors were indebted to them.

It was precisely the great privileges and enormous wealth of the "Arms of Christ", combined with the favor they enjoyed with the popes, with many princes and their arrogance, that made them more and more hated. They became enemies with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, with many other prelates and with the

The pious Knights of St. John fought bloody battles with the Order of St. John over positions, ports and long-distance trade routes, whereby the pious Knights of St. John almost killed the pious Templars in Acre to the last man, so that the latter had to urgently request supplies in the West.

Above all, however, the French king saw in the Templars, who, like his predecessors, had rendered him their manifold services, the means to get rid of his heavy debts. His many years of wars against the Flemish and the British had cost him large sums of money and all his notorious exploitations, his coin manipulations, his expulsion of the Jews and the seizure of their seat could not restore him. When the attempt to make his son Grand Master of the Templars, to whom he owed half a million livres, also failed, the most diverse suspicions were spread against the order and then one of the most bizarre political trials of all time began."

THE TEMP LER PROCESS,
A M O N **STREAM JUS TIZVERB RECHEN**
FROM PA PST U ID K Ö N I G

At dawn on i3 October i3o7 , Philip IV the Fair of France ordered all the Templars of his kingdom to meet at the same hour.
and their property sequestered; the over-arrested were taken from their beds before they could even reach for their swords. Only eight are said to have escaped - by suicide.

The action had been planned and prepared for a long time. Philipp had the Inquisition on his side and the theological faculty of the University of Paris. His closest helpers were the well-known minister Nogaret and the royal confessor Guillaume Imberr, the Inquisitor of France. Expelled from the Order, bribed and other crea- tures had collected incriminating material for the masters, and

As soon as the Templars were arrested, a manifesto published in Paris publicized their "crimes".

The smearing pathos of the arrest order alone speaks for itself: -A sad event, worthy of condemnation and contempt, even to think of it is terrible; the attempt to understand it evokes shudders; a disgraceful phenomenon requiring all condemnation, a repugnant act, a horrible meanness, in truth inhuman, nay worse, beyond the bounds of all humanity, became known to us, thanks to the communications of trustworthy people, and evoked in us deep astonishment; compelled us to tremble with genuine horror. -"

Of course, this whole, essentially thoroughly dishonest action was only possible with the Pope's approval and, for better or worse, he agreed to a king to whom he owed the papacy

In the meantime, Benedict XI. { i 3o3-i 3o4) reigned for eight months, then he died of acute dysentery, or perhaps, as previously widely suspected and claimed, of poison. After almost

The Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand de Got, succeeded Clement V (i 3o3-i3 ii), a Frenchman of noble birth, by an exact two-thirds majority; his brother Bérard ruled as Archbishop of Lyon.

Because of the Avignonese exile that was now beginning, this election has been called "probably the most fruitful of the entire papacy" (Gelmi), which is an exaggeration. Unfortunately, there were many such elections with far-reaching consequences right up to the zo. For example, Achille Ratti, Pius XI, co-founded and promoted all fascist regimes.

After all, Bertrand de Got's election was of great and unusual significance; even for his contemporaries, an accident at the extremely expensive coronation ceremony a *4

November i3oy in Lyon. When the crowds of

an old wall collapsed, the Duke of Brittany, leading the Pope's horse, was slain, Clemens

himself, losing his headdress, hurled from the saddle and slightly injured.

Bertrand de Got was a protégé of the court, a creature of the king. Apparently bought by him, he had made a number of important promises to Philip, allegedly even giving him his own brother and two of his nephews as hostages. It was also openly said that the beautiful Countess of Périgord, Bruiliscnde, daughter of the Count of Foix, was his mistress. In any case, the new pontiff was a highly unstable, easily influenced, not to say often unstable person who was also subject to repeated bouts of illness and who also showed irritating traits of sorcery and incantation. However, Johannes Haller cites a sense of family - which surpassed anything that had been seen in popes since time immemorial - and an equally unusual habit of being unscrupulous, and not just out of weakness: he lacked a sense of right and wrong. Dante aptly characterized him with two words: un pastor senza legge, a shepherd who does not know law and justice. His almost nine-year reign proved this time and again.

Not only for relatives, but also for his favorites, the Pope ruthlessly exploits the Church.

Let's take the Florentine banker Berto de' Frescobaldi as an example. Four of his sons were clergymen, one of them, Giovanni, canon in Florence and of course well provided with domestic benefices. He was canon of Salisbuiy and canon in Chiesteq and, of course, he was not a mere clergyman there either. But when Clement granted him a prebend in Hauteworth and the Bishop of Salisbury refused to grant it, the pope excommunicated him without further ado, because an Italian banker was certainly more important to him than a British prelate. In a single year, Clement once lent twenty times as much as Pope ßonifaz himself had authorized in the w a y of benefices and estates.

That such a man does not think of himself last, but from the very beginning, needs no saying, but perhaps another example. When Clement immediately after his consecration of Lyon

When he and his entourage moved to Bordeaux, they plundered the churches they visited on the way so thoroughly that after their departure from Bourges, it is said, Archbishop Aegidius had to fetch his daily rations of food from his canons in order to survive.

Now the Church was not poor, it had always extracted what it could from Christianity Before Clement had the papal treasure sent o n a journey from Perugia to the south of France, where it was then stolen by Uguccione della Faggiuola in Lucca, a conscientious inventory had been made and a list of objects of the highest value compiled, which in print44 8f filled six quarter pages - and yet it was only a tiny part of it
from a tremendous total wealth, which, of course, is always as
which had to be spent. For the fulfillment of the most noble tasks, for the Holy Church, for holy wars, the Holy Inquisition, for crusades, whether they took place or not. A fortune that, once spent, had to be recouped in the most diverse ways, which often required sharp calculations and the most difficult calculations. For example, in a bull of August i i, i 308, Clemens estimated the following for a crossing prepared by the Knights of St. John: for*•4 denarii on Good Friday
>4 years; for iz denarii on other Fridays ia years off
laB; for 6 denarii on the remaining days 6 years indulgence. But if someone gave everything at once, the indulgence would correspond to the gift. Yes, the church did not mock them. If one w a s generous, so was she.

The pope also gave much, sacrificed much, especially to the king. And depended on him all the more because, at his insistence, he had been residing in Avignon since 3o9, thus opening the seventy-year-long Babylonian captivity of the popes (i joq-i yy), an era of great infamy, characterized by luxury, nepotism, corruption, the accumulation and squandering o f treasures that could hardly be overlooked. In particular, Clement Yi far surpassed most of the popes before him, including his predecessor Boniface, in his greed for money and favoritism towards relatives, and Dante branded him the worst of all Simonists. Not enough, an English Bene-

diktirier wondered quite openly "whether it wouldn't be better not to have any
Pope, instead of having such a useless and annoying one -.

Clement complied with the king again and again. When ec appointed ten cardinals in the same year he was elected pope, nine of them were French (and four of his nephews)! In total, however, he made five relatives cardinals and many others bishops. In the ecclesiastical state, too, he assigned lucrative *offices to* his parents and nephews, for which they merely collected the money without showing any further interest.

Again and again he came up against the vigilant, calculating, insisting He opposed the regent, who was far superior to him, even at the Templar trial. Although he twice removed all authority from the inquisitors acting against the knights, he also twice gave in to Philip and allowed the blood judges to be tried again.

The inspections ranged from apostasy and idolatry to obscene rites and sodomy. The people of Paris, as weak-minded as the masses everywhere else, were still putting up monks in the royal gardens on the day of the Templar arrest, and in the trials all this was detailed by witnesses and the self-incrimination of the victims was recorded. However, the Bishop of Auxerre, the keeper of the state seal, a man who was thoroughly loyal to the king, strictly refused to seal the order in view of the monstrosity of the event and resigned from office after a nine-day battle.'-

An abyss of fictitious depravity became visible, a
A hotbed of blasphemy and the most heinous vices. The Latin indictment comprises no less than zzy articles. In it, the Templars are accused of not believing in God, of stepping on the cross "and spitting in His mild face". Instead, they worshipped an idol - an old, embalmed human skin in a shiny cloth" with "carbuncle eyes that shone like the brightness of the sky1s. This idol wore "half a beard on his face and the other half on his backside". The idol was anointed with fat taken from the child of a Templar and a virgin, then boiled and roasted in a fire. It is also said that any knight who was particularly addicted to the devil cult was anointed after his death.

burned and the ashes eaten in front of the temples
- "and they held all the more firmly to their faith and their idolatry, and utterly despised the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ" . There were also other accusations, such as high treason or homosexuality. It was said that this had already been recommended at the time of admission to the order, where - the alleged Templar secret (factum Templariorum) - spitting on the cross, kissing the naked buttocks or other "orifices - was also practiced, and of all this was still by far the most probable.

The Templars were tortured by hanging, by Spanish boots, some were left to lie half-naked for months in dungeons with bread and water, their fingers were splintered, fire was burned under the soles of their feet so that the bones in their heels would later fall off, their teeth were smashed and they were hanged by their genitals. Many died during the ordeal {bet deø, as it was so beautifully called, - interrogations-) throughout France. In the end, i z3 people were accused of the incriminating crimes. 3ö abet; probably belonging to the top group, died without the
to have opened their mouths. And because ş4 Templars recanted their initial statements at the trial in Paris, they were condemned to death at the Porte Saint-Antoine on May i 3 to for breaking their word and relapsing as "heretics",
burned at the stake in a city totem. As the executioners approached the wood with torches, they resisted a last attempt at bribery by the king, who promised mercy and freedom to all those who did not remain obdurate, like the tears of their relatives - and even as they were dying in agony, they affirmed their original guilt."

Just three days after the speculative police action against the Order, King Philip had asked the princes to follow his example and put the accused knights behind bars as well. But all around, the grandees doubted the deeds of those who had been tricked. And in December x 3oy, Edward of England wrote to the kings of Aragon, Castile, Portugal and Sicily a s k i n g t h e m to close their ears to the slander and not to believe a single word of the accusations. With this in mind

He also turned to the Pope himself, whose bull "Pastoralis praeeminentiae" of November 1307 defended Philip's actions and instructed all Christian statesmen in Europe to arrest the Templars as well. **Although** Clemens rejected the

mer i jo8 again rejected a condemnation of the order, but made more and more concessions to the king, and torture was also used again and again during the interrogations that continued in the following year. And it was the Pope who explicitly called for the use of torture.

In England, the inquisitors were unable to force confessions from their victims, as the laws of the land prohibited torture. Clement therefore insisted on the use of torture in a letter to Edward on August 8, i 3 io - and offered the monarch the indulgence of his sins in exchange for a concession! The pope also treated the English bishops accordingly. King Edward therefore repeatedly ordered the -church law- to be applied; in the end he even used the identical word torture several times - but always emphasized that what he was doing was out of reverence for the Holy See.

Elsewhere too, in Aragon for example, the papally desired shackling was forbidden. The inquisitors therefore had the same problems as in England. In March z 3i i, the Holy Father therefore decreed that the accused in the Iberian Peninsula should be tortured by Church **officials** {-religiosus tortor -) and requested the assistance of King James, as the proceedings had so far only led to "serious suspicion- led,'*

As far as the Grand Master of the Templars was concerned, Pope Clement had already cited him before the outbreak of the persecution. Jac- ques de Molay, a member of the Order since i z65, had been in the Latin East since i zy and had been elected there xzq 3 as successor to the Grand Master Guillaume de Beaujeu on Cyprus, who had fallen in Acre, had entered France at the beginning of i3 oy with an army of Turkish horsemen, with a lot of slaves, with i 5o ooo gold florins in his luggage as well as countless large Turkish silver coins - the burden of twelve strong horses. He had tried to prevent the king from arresting the Templars, but confessed himself afR*4- Ok-

rober admitted to all kinds of offenses, from heretical-bíasphemous to homosexual, but recanted and only wanted to testify before the pope as his judge.

But that was not enough. Under pressure from the royal confessor, the inquisitor Imbert, he informed the members of the order by letter of his guilty plea and appealed to them to plead guilty at the same time. The minutes record this:

"The accused declares under oath that no threats or violence were used against him." Of course, this is only one of the typical lies of the Inquisition Court. Much later, in a letter from the aged Grand Master to his friends, he was told that he had been tortured within the walls of the Inquisition.

"tear off the shark's back, stomach and legs."

On i6. October i 3 i i the Council of Vienne convened, on j. April of the following year, the pope read out the Bull of Dissolution of the Order of the Knights Templar Vox in Exce1so- and announced the transfer of the Templar possessions to the Knights of St. John by the Bull -Ad providam- in the schlufisit-xung on 6 May 13-a, declaring that

"henceforth, under penalty of excommunication, the name of the Order of the Temple shall no longer be mentioned, that no one shall enter their ranks, that no one shall wear their vestments". King Philip, however, had already confiscated all their income during the trial, including all the money accumulated in the banks, the church ornaments, the movable goods and 5 million francs for prison and torture costs, for which his son Louis demanded norh once i yooooo **francs.**

Some Temples ended their lives as Bertleq others, who

• The "recidivists" were burned at the stake, while others were imprisoned in the Inquisition's ca- sematteø. The Grand Master and some of the last dignitaries of the order also sat there for seven years and were condemned to perpetual imprisonment by three cardinals as representatives of the Pope. Two of them remained silent and died in prison after a lifetime of imprisonment. Two of them, the Grand Master Jacques de Molay and the Master of Normandy, Geoffroy de Charney, immediately protested, dressed in mock robes

after the reading of the verdict. They pleaded guilty only to their brethren, whom they had plunged into misfortune through an extorted, untrue confession, but innocently as "heretics", and were condemned as "heretics".

"again fallen into heresy" was immediately burned the next morning on a small island in the Seine. King Philip enjoyed the act of state from a window of the neighboring castle - and

died in a hunting accident in 3*4, after Nogaret and the Pope had already died in the same year.

iq. CHAPTER

EMPEROR LUDWIG IV. THE BAYER (UM i z8 i-Z 3 471 IN BATTLE WITH POPE JOHN XXII. (i 3 i 6-i 334)

-He was practiced in weapons and faced every danger boldly. But he did not think enough in advance, changed his mind quickly and easily lost his head in adversity. His manners were hearty and affable, his gait was swift, he did not stay long on any seat or in any place." - The Swiss poet and historian Albertino Mussaro on Louis IV.

"He knows how to get the fish into his net, but not how to rob them of their scales; he knows how to catch the birds, but he cannot pluck them." - Fürstenfelder eChronik von den Taten der Fürstrn-'

-L'ast the whole of Christendom was divided into two parts. One part decidedly favored the emperor and Rricb. He cursed Pope John for having allowed himself to be carried away too hastily to condemn Louis, and for having declared him a misbeliever out of love and protection for King Robert of Naples with so much passion and brightness ...
They also accused John of not having become pope legitimately ... They also said that he was a quarrelsome fvlann. Because everywhere in Italy he had caused scandals and causes for
wars, especially5 among the lambards
The other party called John righteous, holy, devout, wise and mild, highly educated as a philosopher and master of sacred theology. Because of all these virtues and Kcnnmisse he hates the tyranny of Albertino Mussato'

-The Poor Friars, Fraticelles, Lollharden, Begarden, profound mystics; evangelical enemies of the worldly pomp of a church sinking deeper and deeper into the vices of the time, preached in squares and streets that the **Pope** and his church were heretical and that only those who preserved the Gospel of Christ, the lowly life of the

imitated healers. John XXII condemned these teachings. The Inqoisiiion in Marseille burned people who climbed the pyre rejoicing to seal their love of poverty with death. Their friends celebrated them as martyrs. - Louis the Bavarian soon called upon Christ, the apostles, St. Francis and his disciples as allies against the pope. In his protest of the year i, he invoked the dogma of poverty in order to portray John XXII as a Keizer, because he not only denied the emperor, but also the Savior. It is precisely this combination of the Ghibelline law of the state5 with the dogma of the Franciscans t h a t gave Louis' strtit against the Pope a cultural-historical importance, as it had great consequences for the entire relationship of the Church to the **state."**

Ferdinand Gregornvius^

-It remains indisputable that this pope did not shy **away** from any dispute that presented itself to him and used to resolve his conflicts with determination and regardless of the cost to the Church and Christianity. He loved the battle, and not just the intellectual one with cardinals or mendicant monks, but also the bloody one on the battlefield, in which he did not personally take part, but of which he loved to hear the stories.

Heinz Thomas'

-His main character traits, however, were ambition and greed. In order to satisfy the former, he wa g e d endless Xziegc with the Visconci of Milan, of which a contemporary assures us that the blood spilled in them would have dyed the waters of Lake Constance red, and that the corpses of the slain would have bridged him from one shore to the other. As for his greed, he revealed an inexhaustible fertility in the invention of means to convert the spoils of salvation into hard cash.

u tzusetzen.- Henry Charles Lea*

Clement V had not died poor. When he made his will on q. June z 3 z z he made his will, he owned 8 ii ooo gold florins. The largest part of the papal treasure went to his relatives, his nephew Viscount Bertrand of Lomagne 3oo ooo g o l d f l o r i n s , other relatives and his servants)•4 OOO gold florins, churches, monasteries and the ar men soo ooo gold guilders {whereby the poor are often probably only on the paper, similar to the recurring -widows and orphans- from century to century. In fact, in the Christian Middle Ages and even afterwards, an orphan had to support himself from the seventh year onwards¡ not to mention the fact that charity was much less out of love for one's neighbor than out of concern for one's own happiness). As Clemens' treasure was still growing, however, he left a legacy when he died almost two years later on April zo. April i j i ¢, he left the then enormous sum of i oqo ooo gold florins as his private fortune; money accumulated in many ways, through office and benefice haggling, taxation of all kinds, and diverted for his own benefit, and barely rubricated, as under Boniface VIII: "for the needs of the Roman Church".

His successor, however, greedy and stingy, a financial vulture. Dante, who worshipped not Peter and Paul, but the image of the Baptist on the florins of Florence, is said to have earned an average annual income of a3o ooo gold florins and to have owned a total of i 8 million gold florins. However, at the time of his

After his death, there was not even a single million {only around half a million) left, not least because it was used to finance some of the wars of his pontificate. And the7 millions that he is said to have had in preciosities etc. had increased to4 i ooo gold florins.
melted together. After the Catholic papal
historians Seppelt/Schwaiget; lived and saved "almost like a hermit".

The Holy Spirit took longer than two years to tell the story of such a financial genius. It was not just about the national antagonism between the numerically greatly inferior Italians and the French, but also about certain differences between eleven Gascons, nephews and favorites, the deceased pontiff's compatriots, and six other Frenchmen who were not on good terms with Clement's clique, but were French or Provençal after all. It was also less about the usual intrigues, and more about stalking the people.
and death - in the summer of i3 i4 the Italian cardinals just managed to escape liquidation by two potentates. Just under two years later, the now reigning king
Philip V the Tall (r3 r6-r3 zz) summarily transferred the cardinals to Lyon's Dominican cloister, from which a few weeks later, on
7 August i3 i ö, Jacques Duese emerged as Pope.

John XXfl. t lj - >- 3341. spröfiling of wealthy merchants from Cahors, an important financial and trading center, canonist, bishop, between x 3ob and i 3 i o chancellor of the kings of Naples, h a d assisted Philip the Fair in the overthrow of the Templars, had been created a cardinal by Clement V and was already seventy-two years old when he was elevated to pope. Despite his frail health, however, the diminutive, inconspicuous old man proved to be extremely robust, tenacious, hard-working, but also avaricious, cunning, sly, quick-tempered and unable to tolerate contradiction. His temperament sometimes got the better of him to such an extent that he could even call his predecessor Boeniface a 1"1arren, his patron Roberr of Naples a jolly king, and i n general, he could berate crowned heads in letters.

The fate of Bishop Hugo Gerardi of Cahors shows how he occasionally treated his subordinates.

John harbored an old hatred for the prelate of his hometown, and he had been pope for less than a year when he summoned the man to Avignon, had him removed from office and rank on May ¢. May i 3 i y he had him deprived of his office and status and imprisoned for life. However, as this seemed too unsafe for him and he believed his victim to be mortally threatened by means of magical practices, a wicked piercing of wax images of his likeness - "Whatever nonsense can be thought up, John XXII believed it" (Hoensbroech degree) - he had the dreaded man tortured and burned alive in July of the same year for alleged conspiracy against the life of the pope. But did he, surrounded by nigro- men for the rest of his life, not have to defend himself? He also executed other civilians, a doctor, a Barbiec and several clerics. During his pontificate, the first bulls dealing with magical trials were written, in which he threatened all those who made wax images, sacrificed to demons, locked them up in rings, mirrors and bottles in order to do shameful things with their help. Finally, he also believed in fornication with the devil. i 3 r 8 he accused the Waldensians of this like the choleric old man, protector of the inquisitor GuidoniS tS. * 41, but also all around the

• Hunting heretics, such as Franziska, who criticized the Inquisition. Bernard Delicieux was condemned to life imprisonment and shortly before his death his imprisonment was tightened, just as he had beguines sent to the stake by the Dominicans, before he himself, inspected by Christian theologians, by an entire synod (at Viricennes) for heresy, died after half recantation.- While Clement V had still domi- ciled with the Dominicans in Avignon, John XXII, From x3 io to i 3 i 3 5ChOft a s bishop in Avignon, John XXII began to expand the bishop's palace into a papal residence, o r rather, into a fortress, not exactly beautiful, but nevertheless mighty. And all around this papal castle with its meters-The stench from the thick walls of the small town (I 34 bought by Clement VI from Queen Joan I of Naples) was so bad that an Aragonese envoy fainted.

However, the moral state of the "Babylonian whore" on the River Rhine, as Avignon was also known, was incomparably evil. For contemporary literature, the place is one hellish swamp. Confusion, darkness and horror reign here for Petrarch - -it is not a city, but a den of ghosts and devils, the filthy pit of all vices, the hell of the living. God is despised here, money is worshipped, the laws are flouted, the good are mocked until there is hardly anyone left to mock. A flood of sin is necessary, but there would be no Noah". Sometimes Pe- trarca finds a cardinal -of a nobler soul-, a man,
"who could have been good, had he not become a member of the Holy College. And for St. Bridget of Sweden, the papal residence is a brothel, a field full of weeds that should be weeded out with a sharp iron, then cleaned in the fire, and finally leveled with a plow!". In Avignon, they rest, the ten commandments have become one: "It says: Bring your money here!"

The most notorious was indeed probably -Avignon- because of its Mammonism.

The Bishop of Orléans had long ago denounced the "disgrace" of setting everything for sale at the Curia {cf. esp. III 3. u. y. The Bishop of Orleans denounced the "disgrace" that everything in the Curia w a s for sale, that judgments were measured by the weight of gold. And it was only in the i j. And certainly in the sixteenth century, the Priory of St. Bernard of Ursberg saw the floodgates of world treasures open and the money flowing to Rome from all sides. The wickedness of men is the source of your prosperity."

But what did it l o o k l i k e in the*4- century, when Johann
XXII brought even more system to curial piscalism, even more efficiency, when in the vaults of the papal castle of Avignon, for Petrarch the most disgusting and unclean city he had ever known, wealth piled up from all corners of the world and the Francis of Assisi was able to take advantage of it.

Alvarez Pelajo, penitentiary Johanne, could never enter his master's chambers without meeting the pastors while counting the celdcs. And while Rome, the distant city, fell more and more, while in its ruins armed gangs, the feuds of the Catholic nobility (one must occasionally remember this) raged, above all of the most influential houses of Colonna and Orsini, but also the clergy - who could not be prosecuted by the secular court - committed crime after crime, while day after day robbery, assassination, blood feuds, and the like were committed, day after day, robbery, assassination and blood feuds dominated the scene, while the masses of the people sold themselves into poverty and misery, life was lived in Avignon, ioooo gold florins were spent on a papal coronation ceremony, almost half as much on the meal alone, and the cardinals, currently around twenty, received free gifts of zooo to qooo gold florins when they were elected pope.

But the familiaris pape (servitor pape) mufite be preserved,
The Pope's secretaries, notaries, scribes (of the latter J hann 7o, his successor Clemens Vl. ioo), the Pope's chamberlains, his doctors and even the
Court offices, the bodyguard, the guards, the doorkeepers, a total of at least 3oo to 4 p e o p l e at that time. For their upkeep, their payment, the high priest spent i 3zqfi 33o around three millio-
gold francs.'°

Other things, however, such as the wars, cost significantly more.

So money had to be collected incessantly and from many sides, for example through servitia, visitationes, census, the income from the ecclesiastical territories, bull taxes, procurations, annates, tithes, subsidies, spolia, intercalary fruits, i.e. income from unoccupied church benefices, as well as legacies, voluntary donations, penalties; Vow redemptions, income from the sale of names, houses, animals, especially ochiums, which were very often donated to this pope.

John XXß. was also the first pope to systematize the penitential taxes. For every kind of human fall from grace, for every kind of wickedness and impenitence, he generously granted forgiveness.

he had developed a scheme of absolution, staggered according to fixed prices, ranging from five groschen for murder and incest. reached up to 3i groschen for an ordination before the canonical anus.

Outstanding debts were collected with the utmost severity. Those who did not pay - not for the pope, but for their own salvation, to be precise - invoked the ray of excommunication from Avignon. Thus, in the year i 3 x8, one patriarch, five archbishops, 5o bishops and d6 abbots were excommunicated, suspended or interdicted because they had not made their payments to the papal chamber on time.

In some respects, the pope acted like a Florentine negotiator, such as a banker, with whom the man from Cahors may have shared his spiritual disposition. For this reason, the extraordinary number of spiritual lendings to members of banking families from the city on the Arno, and his sympathy for the local business milieu in general, as he made no less than ten Florentines bishops, is probably not surprising.

After all, a John XXII, who attracted money just like that (not without help!), was also given a lot. The two cardinals Berenga- rius {uncle and nephew) bequeathed him and his apostolic chamber 5ooo gold guilders, Cardinal Petrus de Columpna i z ooo gold guilders, Cardinal Bernardus de Garvo i ooo gold guilders, Bishop Bertrandus of Agen 5oo gold guilders, Bishop John of Dol jooo gold guilders€R. *400 gold florins and another zooo fl. Bishop Guillermus of Paris
gives PapSt 3 Oo, the Bishop of StraBburs 4 O, the Bishop Jacobus of Saint Andrews 4 Oo, the Bishop Robertus of Salisbury 6ooo gold florins etc.

While at the pope's death there were still around yoo ooo gold guilders in the official coffers, so to speak, John still possessed a private secret treasure {pecuniae secretae) of over 6oo ooo gold guilders, which he kept in his stadium parvum, in a small secret chamber above the connecting corridor of two rooms. And when asked about the origin of this enormous ca-

Even Catholic church historians cannot avoid the conclusion that the Pope's private coffers were not in the control books: - First of all, generally speaking, during the pontificate of John XXII, those monies must have flowed into the Pope's private coffers that are not entered in the account books of the apostolic chamber, although they were paid to the Curia."

DRR CRM UTSSTRE IT

The fact that the hot-headed high priest did not tolerate controversy was demonstrated right at the beginning of his pontificate during the serious disputes over the issue of poverty that ran through his entire term of office.

For Francis of Assisi, anyone who collected money was a thief and a robber. But even after his death, unrest broke out and escalated, and it is clear that for a large part of the Franciscan order, at least for the more radical and consistent groups that followed the example of the evangelicaln Jesus and St. Francis of Assisi, the so-called spirituals, the fraticelles with their various versions (clarii), the fraternities and their various versions (clarii), the Franciscans were not the best. It is clear that for a large part of the Franciscan order, at least for the more radical and consistent groups that adhered to the example of the evangelical Jesus and St. Francis, for the so-called spirituals, the fraticals with their various variants (the Clarenes, Michaelists or Cesenists, "fraticelli de opinione- etc.), the financial policy of the popes, especially this pope, was a serious challenge - apart from the enormous wealth that suddenly burst upon the friars.

i3 Z3 In the bull "Cum inter nonnullos", John declared the doctrine that Jesus and the apostles had lived completely without possessions to be "ket- cism". Even conservatives now denounced John's obedience.

"Inflamed by a kind of madness," writes the Franciscan John the Baptist, who died in3 48 and was an outspoken critic of both the emperor and the pope.

of Winterthur, John XXII seeks to present reasons against the poverty of Christ and persecutes the Franciscans for resisting him without measure or aim; the Dominicans encourage him, and he rewards them richly.- The old animosity between the two orders blossomed strangely.

In order to disavow the Franciscans, the monks put up murals of the Crucified Christ on their monasteries, where people often passed by, with one hand nailed to the beam and the other in a money bag:

In the dispute over the doctrine of poverty, Michael of Cesena, the Franciscan general, initially still in agreement with papal fiscalism, fought against the spirituals of Provence. x 3 zz However, together with the general chapter of Perugia, he advocated the order's doctrine of poverty. Manifesto after manifesto followed. Then John i 3z8 deposed the Franciscan, who in turn declared him a heretic. He fled Avignon and joined Louis the Bavarian in Pisa. Bertrand de la Tour now became the vicar general of the order. While still a Car- dinal, he defended the doctrine of Jesus' absolute poverty. However, when the Pope decided that Jesus had owned property, the cardinal immediately adopted the new doctrine and persecuted the followers of the old one, which he himself had once prescribed for them.

The most important figure in this belligerent phalanx was the Franciscan William of Ockham, who boasted that as long as he still had a hand, papiet; pen and ink would bring him back to the world. Neither deception nor lies, neither persecution nor persuasion dissuaded him from his attacks on the Pope. He was caught up in a heresy trial, ordered to Avignon, "arrested" in a Franciscan monastery for four years until he fled to Louis the Bavarian with friars such as Bonagratia, Franciscus de Marchia and Michael of Cesena.

At his court in Munich, Ockham initially wrote pamphlets, appeals and memoranda together with others, which the Bishop of Paris had publicly burned. But then he bombarded the Pope, whom he accused of heresy, and his successors with their own diatribes of considerable verve and impact. Like Dante, he refutes the "Donation of Constantine"
(IV4 ch!). He accuses John not only of denying the emperor, but also Christ, and rejects the separation of church and state.
demanding, their secular power was absolutely dependent. The Roman Empire did not depend on legitimization by the Pope, nor did kingship in France or England. "The secular

Power is older than spiritual power, and therefore independent of the pope. Nor does he have the right to confirm a princely election: not on the basis of constitutional law, for no state would concede this; not on the basis of canon law, for this applies in the state only to the extent that the prince authorizes it; not on the basis of conscience, for it is invalid if it harms the common good ...-

The spirituals were most affected by the poverty controversy. Their leading figure in the south of France, Petrus Johannis Olivi, advocated poverty, evangelical perfection*, complete lack of possessions and the renewal of Christianity. However, this put him at odds not only with the **order,** but also with the whole of the Church's "bundle of sins", which of course found this radicalism a poor fit with its concept and wealth.

General Bonagratia of the order had already allowed ia8o/i z8i Olivi's scluif- tions to enter, but then changed sides himself, was condemned to labor under John and fled, after a visible submission, to Louis of Bavaria, whereupon he continued the fight against the pope, who in turn persecuted the Spirituals through the Inquisition and had four of them in Marseilles as early as 7 March 18
to be burned.

EARLY CO N FRO NTATI ONS

Ludwig N. the Bavarian was the son of Duke Ludwig II of Strengen, the raging Duke of Upper Bavaria and Count Palatine of the Rhine, who had his first wife, falsely accused of infidelity, prematurely liquidated. Hardly anything is known about his son's early years, not even the exact date of his birth. Ludwig's mother Mechtild, his father's third wife, was a Habsburg, his daughter
After the death o f his father in >94, the young Wirtelsbacher was educated at the court of his uncle Al- brecht in Vienna, together with his sons, among others with his
n Vettet Frederick the Fair (iz8q-r33o), his later opponent.

However, even before a conflict arose with him, the dispute with his elder brother Rudolf I the Stemlet, Count Palatine of the Rhine, had already begun, which was almost obligatory for Christian dynasts

(i z7 q-z) iq), whom Ludwig ousted from Bavaria, and at times even from the Palatinate. After the death of their father, both initially had to

They ruled the Upper Bavarian-Palatinate hereditary lands together, but had considerable, even lifelong differences, which were also resolved by a division of the dominion enforced by Ludwig, a formal treaty

i3 io, could not be settled. Rather, everything led to a war between the brothers, with the duchy, especially the mutual possessions, being far-

and Ludwig appears to have been particularly brutal. Even when ma- -3*3 ruled together again, mistrust and hostility did not disappear on either side, reconciliation alternated between the two.

and divisions until Rudolf's death.

Ludwig also quarrelled with his cousin and childhood friend Frederick the Fair of Austria.

In the years• 3 9 Ufld Z 3 I z the Dukes of Lower Bavaria, Stephan I and Otto III, died without leaving any adult heirs. As the Wirtelsbacher was entitled to custody on the one hand

When the Duke's sons' mothers sought the protection of the related Habsburgs, so that Frederick the Fair also laid claim to the caretakership and, of course, the regency in Lower Bavaria, war broke out - somewhat curiously, because the two were not only related, not only friends, but also thought alike in many respects and are said to have understood each other well, even if the less vital Frederick was more nervous and exposed to all kinds of illnesses. In any case, the ßayer won the battle against the Habsburgs, who were superior in many respects, by skillfully exploiting the foggy, rainy terrain on q. November i3 i3 the battle of Gammelsdorf, west of Landshut, the significance of which has been greatly exaggerated by Bavarian chronicles in order to celebrate their hero. This victory hardly made Ludwig any better known in Germany, let alone popular; however, it secured him rule in Nicderbayern. He also quickly indulged himself with Frederick again afterwards - as

Wolfgang Menzel (after the Cistercian's

Johann von Viktring) reads: "the old love returned and they slept together in Salzburg in one bed".

However, there was soon another confrontation between the two, which was to be followed by yet another major conflict.

One year after Emperor Henry's death, in October -i -4 near Frankfurt, but a double election took place. Two electors, Rudolf, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the Metropolis of Cologne, elected the new head of state on iq. October, Frederick of Austria became king, whose candidacy was on his own initiative. The Count Palatine had been paid a lot of money for his switch from the Luxembourgs to the Habsburgs; likewise, the Archbishop of Cologne, Henry II, Count of Virneburg, *a* Curia party member plagued by constant *financial difficulties,* sold his electoral vote to Habsburg under shameless conditions in return for an offer from Leopold of Austria VO*44 OO silver marks (about* 76 ooo guilders) for him and others.
zooo Mark for his %te.

The following day, on zo. October, five imperial princes - after twice celebrating a Mass of the Holy Spirit, as was reported to the Pope {who was then to take very little pleasure in this fruit of the Spirit) - elected Louis the Bavarian as king, and he too was equally and early on urged to run. He was recommended by the Archbishop of Mainz and the Archbishop of Trier, and for his successful efforts the Archbishop of Mainz collected rt ooo marks, the Archbishop of Trier zz ooo marks. Both of them and the newly acquired shepherd of Cologne also h a d various rights confirmed, the Cologne archbishop, for example, the right as archchancellor for Italy, the Westphalian duchy, the Cologne-Rheiri duchy, as well as rights to fiefs, estates, donations, coinage, jurisdiction and also "every right to Jews". Finally, these ecclesiastical lords strove most purposefully for a kind of petty kingship within their diocese.

T H E SLEEVE AT MO H LD OR F
O THE -'HERE Ö HEIM I CH SACH EUCH 1-
fYE SO GERN

As the electoral majority had not yet been established at that time, the Wittelsbach and the Habsburgs were once again opposed to each other. And presumably the only thing that prevented a quick military defeat for the Wittelsbach, who had been elected by a majority but was weaker in terms of power, was the conflict that Austria was having with the Confederates at the time, with the Habsburgs' heavily armored, less manoeuvrable army of knights - a significant event in the history of war - by the lightly armed, much more mobile army from Schwyz and Uri on x5. The Austrian commander Hetzog Leopold escaped "pale as the half-dead".

However, the struggle for the throne continued. The Pope, and even more so King Robert of Naples, now also Captain General of the Papal States, had an interest in it. What's more, the Wittelsbacher avoided a field battle from time to time. For almost eight years, the skirmishes, pillaging and devastation dragged on undecided over large areas. And under SoldzaHungen, for whom
The amounts could have bought more than 6z ooo tons of rye per year - at the time of the beginning of desertification, the poor harvests, the inflation, which drove the price of rye up eight- to twelvefold,
at the time of a famine devouring the poor en masse.
strophe. It cost, according to Archbishop Peter von Malnz, - * *3*4 to i 3 ry in his neighboring diocese of Metz alone ioo ooo people the Life. Only from May to mid-October i 3 i6 field Ypem {with about zo ooo inhabitants) -7sz} Bodies were buried. Only in Colmap does Johann von Winterthuq report that i3 6oo starving people were allowed to disappear in five mass graves in front of the city walls. Profiting from the misery, the Teutonic Order threw the enormous grain harvests of the plundered Baltikunis (5. i 8ö ff.) onto the Western European market.

It was the age of chivalric culture. But however you

What we may think of the ordo militaris, the knightly, courtly, glorious evil, knightly warfare did not generally consist of courteous attacks à la Lohengrin - -what an order you are, you knighthood! -, but in the merciless devastation of enemy territories, in their merciless plundering and incineration. They "burned unprotected villages, drove away the cattle and generously overlooked the murder and rape of the people marching on foot. This d i d not detract from the noble ethos of the aristocratic lords" (Tho- mas). The areas around Landsberg and Regensburg in particular were plundered and devastated, and Ludwig's estates and properties in particular were so badly ravaged that he allegedly even intended to resign; rumors were also circulated about a plot to murder him, and he was even supposed to have b e e n killed in Strafiburg on a night in the year - 3* -n8Cheinend.

i J az, however, on z8. September the decision at Mühl-dorf am Inn, where only a few days earlier Archbishop Frederick of Salzburg, who was on the Austrian side, had consecrated forty of his knights as knights, but then did not ride into battle himself, the last great knightly battle on German territory, in which, of course, as usual, it was not always so chivalrous, but on both sides the Holy Mass was celebrated beforehand and the Holy Communion was received.

The Wittelbacher had ceded supreme command to the Bohemian King John, the only son of Emperor Henry VII, had himself taken a more reserved part in the battle, nm not to say hidden, had eff knights wear the same armor that he himself wore, and in any case had hardly won the victory personally. It also looked for a long time as if the Habsburg, who was fighting in the front line, had the upper hand, although he is said to have felled fifty opponents with his own hand - perhaps the impressive efficiency of the early morning mass? (If things still went wrong, it was probably because King Frederick was also fighting with a bunch of pagan Cumans in his army, who had even burned kitchens and committed all **kinds of** atrocities on their march from Passau, according to clerical sources anyway).

Quite a few of the Habsburg troops had already begun to stop their blood work and plunder in the afternoon when a new contingent of troops suddenly appeared, but not the Duke Leopold expected by the Austrians - he was at Fürstenfeld, west of Munich, on the day of the battle, and all his messages to his brother had been intercepted by the Bavarians, so Frederick did not know when he would be there. It was a reinforcement for Ludwig, the mighty Burgrave Friedrich
IV of Nuremberg, who apparently overran his opponent while still on horseback, which decided the battle in which, according to the Bohemian chronicler Peter von Zittau, there were i ion casualties. - "Cousin, we are pleased to see you here," the Bavarian greeted the Habsburg prisoner presented to him, who then disappeared for two and a half years at Trausnitz Castle on the Naab in the Upper Palatinate - as did the House of Habsburg for a whole century from the circle of kings.'*.

Louis, who had achieved a great deal, wanted more. He expanded both in north-eastern Germany and in Italy. To the displeasure of many, he increased his domestic power by expanding his territories after the
the Ascanians -3*j gave the Margraviate of Brandenburg to his eldest son Louis, who was just eight years old.
The Wittelsbachs had a well-managed territory, but an electorate that Bohemian King John had counted on acquiring, which was not conducive to good relations between the two. A year later, Louis increased the Wittelsbach power through a second marriage, his marriage to Margaret of Holland.

However, when he intervened in Italy in the exercise of German imperial rights, when he rejected the Pope's military potential in support of Milan, d8S I$z3 under the Pope's nephew, the cardinal legate Bertrand du Poujet, and when Louis' vicar Berthold von Neuffen pursued the retreating Bclagerem to Monza, the king immediately entered into a serious and lifelong conflict with John XXII. - the last major conflict between the emperor and the papacy in the Middle Ages.'-

• BEi G on, i HREUv SOL L MEI NER OUT
. .. BEG EGNEx! "

The dispute over the throne in Germany had not moved the Pope too much. Under pressure from Robert of Naples, who had been appointed imperial vicar in Italy and was pursuing his goals there, he let the German civil war run its course. In order to have sufficient room for maneuver, he did not commit himself, remained neutral and regarded everyone as the chosen king of the Romans. However, he sought to strengthen his position and extend his claims to Germany and Italy. Since the popes had been sitting in Avignon, since they were not only dependent on France but also protected by it, they took the interests of France and the Angevins in Italy into consideration and were even more aggressive towards the emperors.

This is how Johann usurped the power of the empire, calling himself the Bul-

le "Si fratrum- of 5 i. March i 3it the legal administrator of the empire during the vacancy. He thus claimed the papal vicariate for Italy and now ordered the imperial vicars appointed by Henry VII in Italy to relinquish this title under penalty of excommunication. And when, after the Day of Mühldod, Louis asserted his rights in Lombardy, an imperial land, and acted as Roman king in Italy, John XXII opened legal proceedings against him and did everything in his power to destroy the "eternal German serpent", the "damned Bavarian", the son of Belial" in a wild rage.

On October 8, i5 z3, a bull - also posted on the portal of the cathedral in Avignon - decreed that no one could act as king of the Romans unless he had been confirmed by the pope and given his approval. Any act by Louis that assumed the title and ranks of a Roman king was annulled, and he was ultimately ordered to resign the administration of the empire within three months and seek confirmation from the pope; otherwise he would be immediately banned. No one in the entire empire was allowed to recognize him as Roman king, any oath of fealty made to him was likewise revoked, all un

obedient prelates were threatened with suspension from office, and all rebellious states and cities with excommunication and interdict.

The king was thus forced to adopt an anti-curial policy. He defended himself in the still quite moderate appeals of Nuremberg {i8. December i3 z3) and Frankfurt (y January i 3zq), disputed the competence of the papal court, which was moreover biased, and was banned from the church by dlRsem In R3* March i 3 z¢.

When the cardinals Napoleone Orsini, Pietro Colonna and Jacopo Caetani, a relative of Boniface VIH, reminded the pope that he had stood idly by and watched the devastation of Germany year after year, that he had accepted it year after year, when they referred him to Louis' rights, John cried out: -You speak evil! You speak evil! Then we will issue a decree against it!" And when Jacopo Caetani warned him of the Teutonic furor, he said: "By Gort, their anger shall meet my anger, and again my courage!

In May i3a¢, in a third appeal, that of Sachsenhauscn, the Bavarian turned decidedly and fundamentally against the papal claim to approval in the German royal election, insisted emphatically on the legality of his own election by the overwhelming majority of the electors, denied the Pope's legitimacy and did not hesitate to call him a stubborn -ketcher". He accused him of seeking the destruction of Germany, the Holy Empire, and of saying that -the discord of the princes of Germany, the German nobility and people was the salvation and peace of the bishops and the Church of Rome-, which was then repeated in the phrase: -Johann has demonstrably said that he wanted to destroy the brazen serpent, the empire of the Germans {imperium A)amannorumJ, zti any time ... - The Bavarians succeeded in mobilizing a large part of the people for themselves, bishops and priests belonging to the Pope were obstructed, e x p e l l e d , and even murdered in Basel and Berlin.'*

The real theater of war, however, was Italy.

TWO THIRDS OF THE CHURCH'S F OR D RN K R IEG

For almost his entire pontificate, Johann struggled to create a Lombard kingdom, a Guelph state naturally dependent on the Curia, at the cost of colossal material resources. He sought to gain the old sovereign rights of German kings and emperors for himself and at the same time to make Germany closely dependent on the papacy.

For almost a decade and a half, between i3ao and 1554, John's nephew Bertrand dti Poujet {Berrrando del Pogget-
to), elevated to cardinal soon after the papal election and appointed I3 Iq apostolic legateii in Italy, fought just as rigorously with spiritual as warlike weapons, -a)s a feJdlord as well as a politician equally outstanding" {5eidlmeyer). By order of the Pope, according to the contemporary and prehistorian Alberiino Mussato, he avoided open field battles and operated "more with terror". After leading an army from Avignon into Lombardy, the cardinal devastated the area of Mantua, destroyed the military fortifications with fire and sword and conquered various towns. In particular, however, he fought against the Lombard Ghibellines and the Visconti, the lords of Milan and its vast territory.

Against Matteo I Visconti { -*94**}O2. 13i i-i 32.z), appointed Imperial Vicar of Lombardy by Adolf of Nassau and confirmed as such by Albrecht I and Henry VII, an in
quisition process was initiated and finally led to a formal crossroads. As was often the case when a pope was unable to make headway politically, the accusation of "heresy" promptly helped. i j zo the Visconti was excommunicated, i 3ai the interdict was imposed on hlailand, I3 Tz zljm Kfeuzzug gegen Matteo Visconti called. The clergy now promised liberation from the interdict not only to its own subjects, but also to those of other authorities that were inconvenient to it, the Este of Ferrara (for whom the church had degenerated into a house of worship, John was not the true pope at all), Cangrande I of Verona {who had many, especially prominent refugees, among them

Dante, and granted them protection), promised liberation from the interdict if they put aside their masters - -Be subject to the authorities! - As early as z3. Matteo Visconti felt compelled to abdicate in favor of his son Galeazzo as early as May i 3az.'- The pope's wars swallowed up enormous sums of money. Under the meaningless phrase "cera et cetera" (wax and other things), expenditure for military purposes amounted to zyo¢zq florins in the financial year i jay/i3 z, 6s.4 percent of total expenditure¡ in the financial year i - i -s -i z6, the peak and the time in which for the first time (in the Florentine -Registro delle Provisioni-) a eiseme Kanone is mentioned, sogäf CO. 43 ooo guilders, 8z,q procent of the total expenditure. Louis hardly spent much rnelu; around 44- ooo guilders, on his three-year trip to Rome. However, while Johann, according to the expenditure registers, spent nul7.* -t of his income on alms, missions and church buildings, he spent7 ö,q percent on war purposes and civil service salaries.

ten"

The apostolic legate, Cardinal Bertrand du Poujet, wrote "from success to success, trusting - according to his own statement - above all always in the help of the Most High God" {Mussato). Thus, one after the other - in some years spending a quarter of a million florins and far more - he won Piacenza, Parma, Reggio Emilia, Modena, Bologna, which became his actual center of operations, until, after a temporary

the defeat over Argenta (Ferrara) - 333rd -a> year because of the harshness of his reign drove out a popular uprising.

Even long before that, the papal side was not always happy. For example, in the battle on the banks of the Adda and at the castle of Vaprio between the Milanese under Ga- leazzo and Marco Visconti and the Scalcus army together with the Florentine auxiliary corps, the church troops lost boo lives. St. Vaten, who had never stood on a battlefield but loved to hear people talk about it, finally invested a lot of money in it (an average of 3 percent of his enormousJ annual income), sent a

Arr Brileidsschreiben nach Florenz, gleichzeitig "die Söhne des Segens and the grace of God to compensate for the losses suffered

through

The Florentines were granted his special favor for the fight against the "perfidious heretics, the enemies of God and the Church", in addition to the usual spiritual advantages. Even when the following year, on r8. March i 3 zy, the important Borgo San Donino was lost to the Church, the pope continued to demand new help and reinforcements from Florence and its allies, as he did after every failure. At the time, Duke Charles of Calabria's iq-month stay in the city on the Arno alone cost qoo ooo florins.'[9]

Then the Bavarian himself set foot on the Italian soil for three years { - 3*7** 33). The Ghibellines are said to have harassed him, stormed him, threatened him with

Tears in his eyes begged for help, offered him all their power, including that of ig bishoprics, as well as countless castles and i 5o ooo florins. In the end, he openly declared that he wanted to take back from the foreign usurpers in Italy "the rights of the empire and the dominion of the world, which the Germans had won through streams of their noble blood". And while the Pope, or as it was now called in Louis' camp, the priest Jacob of Cahors, opened a new trial against him, the Bavarian initially rushed from success to success. "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord", sang the clergy and people in Bergamo. Verona and Lucca stood by him. In Milan, he received the Lombard crown from the long-fired Bishop Guido Tarlati of Arezzo in the cathedra at Pentecost, received 5,000 florins as a coronation gift and put Galeazzo I Visconti, whose clan had "opened up Lombardy" {Gregorovius) to him, in the dungeon bound at the feet in order to extort a large amount of tax from him. Other Visconti also ended up in the dungeons of Monza and were finally released, according to Villani, as guiltless, but nevertheless fleeced with a ransom of 5,000 florins. Galeazzo's youngest brother Stephano, who is said to have dared to poison Louis, died suddenly.

Pisa, once the stronghold of Tuscany's Ghibellines, tried in vain, to keep the Bavarians at bay with 6oooo gold guilders. After weeks of undermining walls and mine warfare and the capitulation of the city on October 8, Ludwig forced a tax of

iyo ooo gold guilders and a further, unspecified sum from income from indirect taxes.

In the meantime, Pope John had sent his cardinal legate in the direction of Rome, as well as the brother of the King of Naples, the Prince of Naples.

--- Johann von Gravina. On the night of September 7-8. September, the Neapolitans broke through the city walls, massacred the guards, took St. Peter's, but were defeated by the attacking Romans, who, according to an old source, killed about yoo men.

lost, bloodily repulsed. The prince and cardinal fled t h e city, not without first setting fire to the Vatican's Borgo. And on z3. On October 3rd, the Pope ended the trial by once again condemning the Wittelsbacher as a "heretic", depriving him of all movable and immovable property and denying him any remaining rights, even the hereditary title of Duke of Bavaria.

ROM - ON TO G AND OFF 2U G

At the beginning of the new year, however, aei y. January i 3 g, the sect of Ludwig entered Rome with the sound of trumpets and trumpets, acclaimed by the cry: -You are the One we have been waiting for as our Lord; for you are the hope of the forsaken and the comfort of those in need.- The Roman clergy, however, did not rejoice, all the papal followers did not rejoice, many churches were yawning empty; the cafdinal legate had imposed an interdict on the city. The Roman people, however, rejoiced, writes Albertino Mussato, "as if God had descended from heaven", wished the pontiff enthroned in distant Avignon, denied,

-that he was the true pope", wanted -a new pope", of course -in their city of Rome-.

On it. January, the Wittelsbacheq was crowned emperor in the most unusual way after much ceremony had been observed (no official protocol exists) and he himself had been clothed in the sum of Domherm - "Welche Anma-

fung the damned Bavarian!" cries Villani. The banished Bishop of Arezzo anoints Louis, and Sciarra Colonna, once almost a murderer of Pope Boniface VIII (p. 4<i f.), brought the much coveted head-jewel on his head in the name of the people. "Three years ago he stood in the burning palace at Anagni, the sword drawn on the breast of a pope, now in St. Peter's holding the crown of the empire to place it on the head of a German king, who for the first time in history received this sacred diadem from the hands of a delegate of the people (Gregorovius). Had the great historian here and in general not been somewhat less democratically moved, less moved by the democratic principle of the majesty of the Roman people, he would already have known the democracies of the second century. From left to right?

In any case, this imperial coronation without a pope - the city of Rome - was apparently based on the ideas of Marsilius of Padua, probably the most important political theorist in late medieval Europe, who still had a great influence on the monarch at the time. His "Defensor Pacis" (The Defender of the Peace), dedicated to Ludwig, is an outstanding work that still had an impact on the age of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, emphasizing above all the elimination of ecclesiastical world claims, of ecclesiastical legislation by secular legislation, also with the suggestive idea of popular sovereignty. For the competent legislator is -al1one {!) the entirety of the citizens or their more important part- {DP I, iz,5). Marsilius, still not realized today, neither intellectually nor even in the arena of political reality, "is concerned with peace, not primarily with freedom, and certainly not with democracy" (J. Miethke).

The pope, however, has the work on a3. October 13-y in the decree

-Licet iuxta doctrinam- as -heretical-. Marsilius subjugates the Church to the state with a hitherto hardly known severity, he does not recognize any punitive power (potestas coactiva), he denies the pope any claim to supremacy, all his usurped rights, his arrogance, his elevation above the emperor, his jurisdiction even over bishops and priests.

Peter is no representative of Christ, no founder of the Roman bishopric, indeed he denies that he was ever in Rome, which remains completely unprovable (II y6 ff.!}. There is much in common with Dante. Marsilius, too, is strongly inclined towards monarchy, but no longer sees it as part of salvation history, even if he still considers the Church and Cierus to be justified.=

Just a few days after the pompous ceremony in Rome, which was still unknown in Avignon, the Pope preached
against Louis the Cross. By his bull of zi. January i3 z8, he guaranteed anyone who swung the sword against Bavarus the same invaluable means of mercy that were otherwise associated with the crosses.
to the Holy Land. Robert of Naples and his son Charles, along with many nobles of the kingdom, soon got down to business. They spread the papal bull wherever they could, armed themselves to the hilt and - the beginning of the crusade - burned the enemy coast with part of the fleet in mid-May.

As unusual as Bavaria's imperial coronation was the elevation of a new pope a few months later. First of all, in April, Louis declared -Jacques of Cahors" deposed by decree for "heresy"; indeed, he pronounced the death sentence on him as a -ket- zcr- and lèse-majesté criminal; Although controversial, it was irrelevant insofar as a person convicted of heresy and lèse-majesté was in any case doomed to death. It happened that a wooden puppet in papal regalia was solemnly condemned to death by fire, which at the time, we may believe Mussato, shocked "the whole world", although it was also practiced on the other side. In Avignon, for example, where Louis was cursed daily in all forms, a straw doll representing the ruler was set on fire on Calvary (whereupon a German is said to have searched through the ashes and, when questioned, replied that he only wanted to see if there was anything left of the bones of the burnt man).

The next act of an unusual kind, an act of state so to speak,
was the proclamation of a new pope, elected on tz. May, crowned by Ludwig on May 5. The beginning of an equally short and

curious schism in the church, one of the highlights of the no less fleeting -revo1ution" of the emperor, the Bavarian. "Nowhere have the actions of rulers made so little impression on a people as the noisy deeds of the medieval emperors in Rome." This is complemented, as it were, by Gregorovius' other sentence about the Romans, which is not significant enough: "They never had respect for the popes, especially because they observed them at close quarters.

His name was Pietro Rninalducci and he came from the small town of On Corvaro in Abruzzo. Before he, like his predecessor Goelestin V of blessed memory, joined the Order of Friars Minor, he was five years old.

)ahre was married to a girl who apparently cheated on him, jilted him, but then claimed the antipope as her husband before the Bishop of Riert, Johann TVi, and was awarded the title by ihin. According to some, the new Holy Father, who called himself Nicholas V (i 3x8-i j3o), was a paragon of holiness, in whose name signs and wonders were performed; according to others, he was a hypocrite who secretly had no regard for poverty or chastity.

However, neither the emperor nor his pope enjoyed too much sympathy in Rome. Supply difficulties, lack of supplies, inflation made themselves felt, as did treachery and violence. He arrested the lord of Viterbo, Silvester de'Gatti, a ghiblline who had accommodated Louis obligingly, together with his sons, forced 3o ooo gold guilders from him by torture - reminiscent of his Milanese VisConti elimination - and then threw him into Castel Sant'Angelo. For money, he allowed exiles from Rome back in, much to the anger of the Romans. At the beginning of March there was an uprising, executions followed, downright religious persecutions of the clergy loyal to John, insofar as they had not fled from the city over which the interdict lay In mid-May, Neapolitan galleys appeared off the mouth of the Tiber, deposited warriors, various coastal towns were taken, areas were severely burned, people and animals dragged away, German troops repulsed.

Ludwig himself, whipped as always by the need for money, drew Rich

south, took Cisterna on the Via Appia, robbed it and brought it to ruin. They fought over the meagre booty, the emperor had to separate the Lower and Upper Germans, the Roman relief contingents withdrew, and later Louis also went back to Rome. But his situation there was untenable, so on 4 Au
gust left for good amid stone-throwing, jeers, as they say,
The inhabitants' ears were filled with praise and acclamations for John XXII, whose car- dinal legate appeared four days later. He suspended all the measures of the previous regiment and officially restored the former one, whereupon the Romans tore the corpses of the Germans from their graves, dragged them through the streets and threw them into the Tiber.

:.AND THERUcxzuc

The retreat d e g e n e r a t e d into a raid, just like, strictly speaking, the invasion. -For the Germans were an unrestrained, insolent gang (Mussato). And again and again it was "Ludwig's foremost concern ... to procure funds" (Chroust), for he was severely lacking in this, and it was not least because of this that his enterprise failed, for few things have harmed him as much as many of his predecessors, and few things have made him as unpopular as his per- manent money-grubbing, especially with the Romans, who were probably particularly sensitive in this respect and to whom he had to pay 3o,ooo gold florins - a third each from clerics, burghers and Jews.
- was still very accommodating.
But he had just arrived, two days after his departure from Rome, at the 6. August i n Viterbo, so he "initially took care of- dafüt; -to fill his coffers and replenish his supplies through extensive pillaging - (Chroust). And, as a devoted prince, he already chose his next victim from among the neighboring towns: Bolsena. A deliberate betrayal, an attack by force of arms as well, and this despite the fact that Pope Nicholas V and his carinals promised paradise to all combatants if they fell.

to do so. For even if one did not have the Pope's mountains of money in Avi- gnon, one had a surplus of spiritual graces like him, one had an almost unlimited amount, even against him. 3Thus, on January 8, Nicholas, as a preacher, personally granted the full forgiveness of their sins to all those whom John XXII had rejected as worthy of it.

Like the attack on Bolsena, attacks on Orviero, Imola and Foligno also failed. Todi offered "voluntarily" to ooo florins, but the -Cronaca Sanese" stipulates a double levy of ioooo florins each. And Pope Nicholas, no less in constant need of money, let the aforementioned church treasure of San Fortunato go with him. Louis demanded q3 ooo from Lucca and too ooo guilders from Fisa as a contribution.

Meanwhile, the Sicilian fleet, under the command of Percy the Sohø and co-regent of King Frederick, marched along the coast of the Neapolitan kingdom. His landing corps ravaged the area, also taking the Torre d'Astura and killing more than i yo of its defenders. The princely crusader destroyed Nettuno, occupied other coastal points, the island of Giglio, before meeting the emperor in Gorneto, who immediately demanded the already promised subsidies in the amount *of zo ono dnzen* gold. However, Pereç, who boldly lost five ships in a naval storm and arrived in Sicily with the rest in a state of severe damage, wanted to wait for Louis' entry into Neapolitan, which was no longer an o p t i o n . His own soldiers were at loggerheads with each other, while others had completely b r o k e n away from him, including over 8oo c a v a l r y m e n a t the end of October, to whom he had not paid any pay for some time. At the Po crossing, another 6oo men left him behind. His army dwindled, his reputation dwindled, many towns closed their gates to him. One after another of his Italian allies also fell away and went over to the legate and the pope. The envoys of the margraves of Este surrendered in Avi- gnon with ropes around their necks. Many followers.

Finally, even Pope Nicholas was reconciled with him, no longer Jacques of Cahors, the heretic, but true holiness again; the most holy pope. Gone are the days of flashing

The rays of banishment, the emperor's creature, were hurled against him, and the hour of beautiful Christian humility arrived. On July 13, 1933, Nicholas V resigned his papacy before the archbishop of Pisa (what a bizarre paradox) and became Pietro of Gorvaro again. Exactly one month later, he appeared in Avignon in a monk's habit and with an almost obligatory neck rope, bowed at the feet of the victor, confessed all his sins, had them forgiven and received a 3,000-gulden pension and an apartment in the papal palace to boot. He then lived for another three years in natural -honorable- house arrest and died on i6. October i 333.

LUDWIGS DEATH
OR -SÜEZE KÜNIGIN, OUR WIFE ... -

The emperor had also remained in the south for two years and then returned to Germany - from a chaos without borders into an uncertain future. His opponent was not content with fighting him in Italy, but was also constantly trying to undermine his power in Germany.

As early as the fall of x3 z7 , the Johanniter Petrus von Ungs- la, Johann's emissary from Cologne, prepared a coup d'état of Twice the date for a new king had already been set, on3 z. May and i 5. November i y z8, without it having happened. And when the death of the Mainz metropolitan Matthias the pope on in. In October i3z8, the pope conferred the archbishopric of Mainz on Henry Iß. of Virneburg, but the next day the imperially-minded cathedral chapter appointed Balduin of Trier, who was unpopular with John, as provost, and the latter began a "terrible war of devastation" (Thomas} against his rival, and the pope himself had prevented a change of power in Germany during his lifetime. The alliance of convenience that now united the emperor and the bishop and at least here secured the Bavarian's rule lasted for years after the pope's death.

John XXII died on December 4, 53q. And just as the Wittelbach schpn had repeatedly wanted to come to an understanding with him in the past, he also did so in the last period of his life.

He made another such attempt "in the most humble manner" (Fritze). Yes, he would have renounced the crown even a year before Joan's death in exchange for the release from the ban in favor of his cousin Henry of Lower Bavaria. But the stubborn old man remained unyielding until the very end, when he was tormented by the profound question of the degree to which the deceased saw God ...

His successor, the monk Cardinal Jacques Fourniei; the third pope in Avignon, derided by a contemporary as "a ton of unmixed wine", Benedict XII (Z 334 -i3 z), seemed too

to a settlement or even to negotiations, where

but the *emperor was very* accommodating towards *him.* But *Benedict,* a Frenchman, again encountered resistance from the kings of France and Naples and continued the policy of his **predecessor**, who had also made him a cardinal and twice congratulated him on the particularly zealous extermination of the "heretics", the WaldenSez, the Albigenseq in his dioceses. And even if Jacques Fournier burned only a handful of them and is said to have crippled many others physically and mentally during torture: those he persecuted cursed him as a devil, while this predestined him to become a cardinal for John XXII.

Although the Wittelsbach had thus signaled a broad concession, the pope, too dependent on the French king, did not find it broad enough, denied the emperor genuine repentance and refused him absolution. Therefore, when the

The Hundred Years' War (337**4531) broke out between France and England, which the "peace-loving" pope {Seppelt) was happy to prevent.

Since this would have prevented him from going on a crusade, which would have dashed all his hopes, Emperor Louis {for 3oo oOo florins) took England's side, but changed sides during the conflict in the expectation of reaching a settlement with the Curia through King Philip VI of Valois, in which he was mistaken. And when, driven by the idolatry of avarice {Matthias of Ncuenburg)

and supported by the opinions of William of Ockham and

Marsilius of Padua, committed the Tyrolean marriage scandal by divorcing the rich heiress of the county of Tyrol, Margarete Maultasch, from the son of the Bölun king Johann and marrying him to his own son, the margrave of Brandenburg, ignoring the impediment of third-degree consanguinity, the emperor's odor began to stink in the noses of the princes, wrote Abbot John of Victring, "and they said that he had forfeited the realm because of his gross misdeeds".

Archbishop Balduin of Trier now also fell away from him and swung to the course of the new pope, Clement VI (i 34a to i3 z), the distinguished southern Frenchman Pierre Roger.

long a favorite of the French court and an opponent of the emperor. Of z5 of his new cardinals, zz came from what is now France, and Clemens was even more unforgiving than his predecessor. In the autumn of*34• , the perpetually wavering Wittelsbach responded to new attempts by the

Pope next year with a new process. He excommunicates

censured the emperor on April i 3 {Founding Thursday) i 3 6, declared him dishonorable, without rights, and that his sons and grandsons should be ineligible for any office. He hurled all the hatred we know from so many popes at him in his bull of excommunication.

-We implore the divine Old Power to disgrace the aforementioned King's fury, to bring his arrogance to the ground, to bring him down by the power of her right arm and to deliver him defenceless into the hands of his enemies and persecutors. Let him fall into a hidden net. 5 Let his entrance and exit be cursed. Let the Lord strike him with foolishness, blindness and frenzy; let the heavens consume him with their lightning."

The pope called on the electoral princes to elect a new king. Shortly before the election, he removed Henry of Virneburg, the elector prince of Mainz, who was loyal to the emperor, from his see, and as Balduin

of Trief *34 *- Emperor had fallen away in breach of oath, on July xi. On July xi, 134 Charles, the eldest son of King Joan of Bohemia, won the Roman crown, a new "peacock king" who again made far-reaching concessions to the pope. And while Cle-

mens in Avignon led a life of luxury {only his

Coronation banquet is said to have devoured 5o ooo guilders, 8o percent of his average annual income), while he wasted the money on his nephews (he created four of them into caf- dinals), while he spent several times as much on the kitchen and cellar alone as his two predecessors.

I Z. October ¡47 after the visit of a lady - probably the Duchess Joan of Austria, who was traveling back to Vienna to visit her paralyzed husband - with whom he had an extensive meal.

and, having become indisposed, was about to rest after a bear hunt, suddenly with a prayer to the Mother of God on his lips ... - (Sweet queen, our wife, until my divorce).

But as we all know, you can put even less stock in last words than in 'many before'*.

ANNEX

NOTES ON THE SEVENTH VOLUME

The complete titles of the secondary literature cited can be found on p. $3z ff., the complete titles of the most important source writings and abbreviations in the list of abbreviations on p. y Jo ff. Authors from whom only one **work** was used are usually only cited by name in the notes, the other works with keywords.

i. CHAPTER

Courses HEI f4RI CH ff.

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ÏORä$fl $tg2n**°^fl 4 ^9- Zöllnez, Hti "rich Vl. 189 ff. Höflingrz, Kai- ser Heinrich VI. 3oz

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+4I Ä. Kehr° ®4 ff. 3o8, j iq. Lekai 3$ Ü. JO b$. Wicderhold i o6 ff. Hal- ler Das alidcutscht Kaisertum zi y. DerS, III m6. Scppelt III 3oq f. *Demm 9o I.* 5emmler i 6. Epperlein, Bauernbedrückung i zr. Schmandt Sy q ff. Heinrich, Emperor Heinrich VI. i 89 ff. esp. iqq. Tocchc z i6 tf. zes ff. z3z ff. iy2 ff. z¢z ff- 5o ff. Jordsn, Inveititurstreit i 66 f. Gatier-

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zjx. Disturbance 5*4 *- jenks ioi ff.

zo Gatcemann z4 Îf. esp. z6 u. zÿ. Selc- mann 73 f. i io, 3 i' *< 7' 8

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Page zmi8

Henry VI. 3oq. Erigels, The Stanter i yd f. Schmale i 8q Anrit. 6q If.

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grcnzung guy

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esp. zy 6 ff. °4* ff. Giesn, Zu den Desîgnøtiontn i 74 ff. esp. i7q. To the
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History of the Crusades i j6 ff.
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VI. 36d. Höfiinger, EmperorHeinrich
3o t. Engels, The Hohenstaufen i 3 y ff.
Böhmer yr a, ą i ş b. Schmúle I -7
*^ - 94

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Toech- 45° If. Ferrier Latest ßeila-
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Page z 8-3 q

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rich VI. 196

-. CHAPTER
tnnozzriz III (z zy8-z az 6),
THE 4 XCHTIG SA POPE
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i i Guillemain 8

i x **Gregorovius** Ilfi, tqq If. **jo6** f. Hal- ler III z z f. Sepptlt III 3ii. Winkel- menu I qy f.

-3-9 '- Y 3 '7 - V 3 '4

HEG **11 6oq f. Gregorovius I1/i,** *X99* ***Ü.*** **303 If.** j **AA. Hef'gdnrÖfiher ÏÏ** *7s- Hauck N hai. Seppelt III 32a Ü. ÜäÏÏtlï l *44 - *i3 Kellez, Regional 8egrtntuns 4-* <**- - man I io6 ff. Potcr iq9. cantoro-wicz 42

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4 34 - 4.9 - * °°4

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z6 Annal. **Marbac.** i **zo8. Deliberatio:** PL ai6, iozj ff. Heinrich, Qunllen zur deutschen Verfassungs-, Winschafts- and Sozialgeschichtr 33a 3ą6. Tøddey 8yq. Hauck IV 7 -- 7** - 7*7 - 754- **P@" ! 3 fi4 *- Haller lg zyi ff. Winkelnłann I 6z, rq7, zrq f. {here Pope's quotation) 47c f- Ganemann x z8 ff. with many qucl- steering notes. Kantorowicz zo ff. E, 57 *. Rcisinger '6. courtier¢s Xönig Philipp von S1waben j zş. Potter zoo

27 MC Cønst. H Nc 3q8, S. oy If. PL zi6 col. io65 If. Gregorovius ll/i, 3tz, 3z4. Heinrich, Quellen zur deutschen Vtrfassungs-, Wirœchafts- und Sozialgeschicftce j4 o if. Fłauck 7+ If. Haller III x 3 f. ÊAUt9lDd^^ 4*3

28 ŁłdA ÏIl zşxţ. LTkK t1f' 4*7' Hauck 7fi* !!! Serpell III §3ó. winkclmsnn 1 7 j j f. aop ff. żjţ fč. Rcîsingcr z' f. Ygl. also yp. Wendc- horst I r83 If. See also Falck i y3

29 Oxo by St. Bias. Ckron. c. 4". Amolˆd Chron. Slmon ,z6. Amul. Siad. i in . Cron. Reinhardeba MG SS jo, ö f. Chron. Albc mon. MG SS z , 888. &aunschw. Rrimchc p. 3o v. ş663. LMA IV i q47. V r3 ş r. LThK I- I 6l. VI' z8j f. Hauck IV 735 . WCller x*7- cndehorst I i 83 ff. iqo ff. ig6 If. with many references to sources and literature. K*flkßÏJMßR^ +7°' Am Ï. 11/ z3q f. zÀ7 If. Schm- < ^ >7-GoettiM 457 - -473 ff. Sclt- +47 Scherzrr i 8 ff. 3 i 5, 3ø7s ţzp, p74. §eztks zoy łf. On the dispute between the %ürxburg bishops and the territorial rulers of iłucs Bîstums: Kör- ner BS ff- Zum Kncg der

Archbishop before allent against the Gt4- fen van I+imok: 'isches Das Unter- maingebiet i z If. Kuin relationship bishop - cathedral chapter gcnerell: Güldenstubbe zi ff.

3o Annel. Marbac. i Iq8. Braunschw. Reimchs S. y i f. v. j 8oj. Taddey Jx3. Hauck N yj 5 If. Winkelmønn I i 3z, i j8 f. Gattermann no. Rei-
singer 25 f. 31 f.

j i Braunschw. Reimchc 53off. v. syi f fi. Winkelmznn I a83 If. with many different QueÍlenzusemrøenstellungen. Ganermørim i zq f., ebcnfalls mit vic- len QueÍlenbelegen

3z Chron. rug. Gol. i toy. Arnold Chmn. Slavoz ö,6 f. Braunschw. rtiinchz

f 34 v. s995 *- Ii* -- *- ii +- *'- -- St 6q. Gregorocius II/i, j y. Hsuck **IV 741 ff. Seppelt III 338 f. Winkel-**man I zig, z8j If. 3x6 If. djs If. 36d If. jqi ff.**Gattermann** i3 i f, Rei- singer i 6 f. Goetring ąq3 f. Epperltin, building embcression ß

33 Annøl. Marbac. i not; hitr faith da- *'ion-*, datu Schniale zı r Arim. z. Tsddey q38. Gregorovius Ii/i, 3aą f. Hauck IV 74ą ff. S<pp "It Ilï jho f. Kantorowicz ţ '. Kellez, Rcgional B¢gr0nzung g§o. GattenDaDn ¥$$ f. Winkelmann I qy f. ąo6 ff. ąią ff.

4s* ff. 3i i *- 4i - - 459

54 Vesta TftYH 301. Å R R d1. Marbac. itq9, t not, r io8. Otto v. St, ß1a s. Chron. c. o. LMA III i y6z f. V r f. Vl t @6. LTliK III' 5Sy I. VI' x8 y. Taddcy oj, 9o8. Gregorovius lpi, 3zş f. Htrgtnröiher If zCa.

Hauck IV 752. Looshorn II 601 ff.

s6ø. Guttenberg I iö . seppclt lii

4iŁammws*oyVÑnkdmonnI

4 ^ -Fluid tbd. $36 If. Csendes y y f.

7-77

y j **Annal.** Markac. zo8. **Occo** v. Se. Blas. Chron. c. o. LMA VI i 7 i. Gregorovius IUi, zö. Hauck IV f. 7s8 If. Cf. also 76d f. Stppclt III 3¢x. Winknlmann 1 47a If. II q9 If. io8 if. no, i y If. Lammers ze. Reisingcr

36 Otto of St. Blas. Chrnn. c. z. Annal. Marl'sc. i zo9 f. Braunschw. Reim-8o8 chx p. $4* ja.LMA VIII i77 z i, Taddey 8Gregorovius Itf HauCk .5- >PIt f. Gattermann i jIf. Kantn- crucifixion was4 z. Winkelmann II i6$ et seq. Cf. also iy6 et seq. i9i et seq. Keller, Re- nech dtm rara tional Bcgmnzung ¢3i f.

37 Ridder II t i 8 f.

CHAPTER 3

-Dn5 **GROSSARTI G5TE ÛPO5** -.

ÑBEUZZU¢i ALLEB ORYEx.

The VIEÏ¢TE KBEU22UG

(z aoz-z aah). KaeuzzucE

IN SPANIEN

DzxKINDERÆREUZÆU€(*Ik

i Hehl 3zi

z LhtA V r j z6. Y$l. VIII 4 . LThK Vi' qyi. WttzerfWelre Vl z79. On the continuation of the Kreuxzüge in modern times, see for example Brutin, Neuzeit qiö ff.

3 Wttzcrfweltt VI ay8 ff. Franz Boggle exposes the immense dishonesty of all kinds of prorninent apnlogcts today in such a detailed and convincing way in his important work -Dtnn sie wissen aichb was sie glauben-.

4 È 'tA V x y z (Riley-Smich). Maya History of the Cross i yi f. PL i 8o, i ze3 f. L2vtA II 33d. V 43f (Maieczek), Z§**- ^73*. LThK t^ i 56, rol z If. IV' zei f. VIV 66a. Kelly r78. SePPelc III 364. pcrnoud z$i Hehl aq8, 3ti f. $31 $f. ftttt Ylflltfl Li- und Qucllltnhinwtisen.

LMA I i j69. V i i i z. VIII i463 ff. xjIX 33q. LTliK VI' z6q. VI' 66z. Kahneq Lexicon i q6 f. Pitrtr IX . Zöllnrs The Cescliichte of the Kreuuüge tai. Kretschmay° *7 ' If. x8ö If. $oq. II z6. Mayei; i,ff. Gcschichtc der Kreuziüge '7i +-34* zyz If. According to Pemoud, the the nizieri, not. Ostrogorski 33 i. Grabler ig f. Bosl, Europa im Mittelalter zz6 f. Quelles 4*- *-œWi ff. 7 - Kawersu, Geschichte der mirrelalter- **lichen Kirche 144. Duby 298**

7 LMA V 1511. VI 1985 ff. VIII *z9 z Pt.* LThK **VIII'** inz. KinderfHilgemann 1 i y3. Bml, Eurapa in the Mit- telslier xz6 f. Helil 3ij

8 Inaoz. ep. I 3n, O zi i. LMA 1.386 f. *j6p.R/ o8o.Y*gzz,g3&L71X W' 66* Sur YorgsrhthŒ: Nik. Chon. i,r ff. i,i ff. 3,r ff. Grabler i2 ff. Further ibid. +4 ff. i xy ff.

'i4 <- >- -- - ii *' -4i ff. - i- - Kretschmsyr I z8 ff. zqo ff. z9 ff. joi ff. Pernoud iy6 I. Seppclt iI1 36d ff. Kühnes Cezeiten i q6 f. Bosi, Eumpa im Mitttlzlter **7- llH§ Die Geschichte der Kreuzzüge i z3. Mayer History of the Crusades i 26 ff.

q LMA 1 38y, i j 69. lV io8o. V i 5 i z, r;ry6. LThK m' 66z. Ffordtn i y8. Graber ix3 ff. Pernoud z5qff. Krctschmsyr 1 z6q ff. bee. j i q f. Seppclt III y68 f. Küttneç Gezeiæo zgÿ. Brand *4^ !!-

Seiro yy-yp

to Otro v. St. ßlas. Chron. c. øq. LMA N i y9 . VII 9oz f. HEG II i i ą i f. LTliK I° i i z. VI' joy ff.7 i. HKC lIIfz, iql. Norden top If. who f. Schubart, Øiristentum und Abendland i zi. Seppelt Ill 56q. Pernoud x6o If. Kühneq Tides rg6 f. Kupitch 11.8 . ®7- ^°Ę Dİe Gcschichte der Kïfluzzüge i -4- Mayer, Geschichtc der Kreumüge i yg. ßosl, ÛuFØ It İm MÎtttl* ° **7- Duby ay5. Kretschmayr 1 5o6 If. i a. Pe- ters i 8 ff. Dinzelbacher 3jq ff.

11 LMA V i yj6. YII qoz f. Kretschmayr 1.3 i t. Pemoud i65. Duby zq8 IŁ 7ï ff. Grabler -4 ff. ^73 . KosminskifSkaskin 1 z3q. Kretschmayr I j z z f. K ühner, Gczei- ten py. Pernoud ø6o. LauŁemann **498 ff.**

'3 LTłtK VI' 6j . Vfi' 4+- *łdA 11 **7§!!- Ygl. V zoyB f. Nik. Chan. i şo If. Kretichmayr 1.3iz f. Lute- **mann 498. Peters 16 ff.**

*4 Otto v. St. Blas. Oiron. c. q. Norden soş f. Ludwig z3. Hertling i yq. Kosmincki I zj q. Zöllneq The history of the crusades i z5

15 Innot. tp. VII ry3 f. ep. XI47' EA I i 369. V +73* f. {Carile). VI §99. 8ąą f. VIII 6^7' 463 If. LThK VI' **662. HKG III/2, 194. HEG II 1143 f.** North rø ff. i yq, iö3 ff. zo6. Schu6art, Chtistenrum and Abendland i s r. Seppelt III 3fiy If. Grabler i 7ş If. Kretschmayt 1.3 i 6 it. 11.89.8!- bcs. j 1. Moore 7s *! Bosl, Europs inn Mittelal--°*7- Kupisch 11 8y. de ŸFİt5 I fl 3 If. bed. i86 f. K ühntr, Ge- ZCiton +97 . Zöllnei; The history of the crusades r z$. Mayer Ge- ichiehie der Krcuiiüge i 8o f. i8ą. Peters zi ff.

i6 LMA IV so6i. VI i 8£ i. Hergenröther îł4 zo. Xnöpfler yyz f. Norden 7* *- ®- *- 9*- 97 fĬ. bgs. znz, zro If. Seppelt III j 69 If. May- er Cìeschîchte der Kreuzzüge i 8z. Zöllneq The history of the crusades i z6 f.

7 LMA 737- VII i y 5q. LThK V' $ i 7. Vlll' io8. HEG 11 i q s, q38, 944 . HKG nlfi, i 83. Knöpfler 385 and (here . A.) 398. north ^4^ . Hollnsteiner qą. 5eppeli Ill 3 y i f. SchuchertfSchü - ^94 f. Md/- er, Geschichre dtr K reuzzüge i8 z. Hehl 3i ß

r8 LMA VII r 35q. LTliK I' 38y. HEG ll iqz. Kühner, Lexikon 88. Hœnsbroech I i j 7°- '^-*< 98 !-

19 Pet. Dusb. Chron. ,ro. LMA I 39y f. Too f. II i 389 ff. IV 35q f. i 6ą8 f. VI io6z f. VII 5aq- q3o f. 13$. LThK I' 385. il* 88y. III' I Z36. Donin Ui 3 to. Knöpfler {d. A.) q8. Hollnsœîner q f. Stpptlt IU 3 yr f. JVIayed history of the Kteuxzügc z88. Heibig zo8 ff.

20 Gesta **Trever. 103** LThK V' rq3z ff. ' * 9- ' 47* °+ WCligchenden Besweitung vgl. GäbĹer i ff. Raedts z8z If. also gives an overview of the sources. VgJ. also zq3

21 Annal. Spirens. MG SS XVII 8ą, 8 f. HEC II toy, i8q. LMA V i i yo f. HKG HVi, iqs. Hagenbach 3^7 - $cord 11 30 . Guillemain 88. g3blcr 3 f. a If. nt. Raedts z9y ff. Ridder 11 i zz. Bos1, Europe ir Mii- telalter zsy f. Peters 3ş f.

22 LMA V i i yo f. Kelly zoo. Kühner, Lęxîkon oz. Ders. gezciren 1 zoo. Hagenbach 3z8. Knöpfler (ą. A.) 9 . Gäblcr ø. Oosl, Europe inn Mic- telalter zzy f. Raedis z9t ff. hiayes

Seite 99–114

History det Kr¢uzxügo r8y ff.
rers jy. Heiftisch 6j cprichr of two by Friedrich aufgchangten
-Xauflcutcn- from Marseille, the boys and girls of the Children's Crusade on the slave markets of Tunis and Cairo.
hatten.

z3 Annal. Martine. izi z. Gesta Trevec roy. LMA V i i yo f. Hagenbach yz8 f. ynöpfler(g. A.) Spy.Bad, Eu-
ropa im Mimldl!*^ **7 !- Kühn<s Geznittn I xoe. Gonmrd zyx. Gäbltr 4 ii. Rneda 8q if. i°3 i. Mayer ct-
history of the crusades i 8q f. Peters j6. Nuc the French king, crkenncnd the madness, ordered the children to return to their parents.

$. CHAPTER

THE CRUZ G£G2N THE ALBICBNSBB

r Flist. Albig. z§
z Cf. note zo
Cf. ibid.
q Caes. v. Heisterb- Disl. mirnc, ‚x i
Hier. Aibig. gr
ö Ibid 7°
7I9j4 . LThK V' nti j. Lem-
^ 4° f. Fearzts j z z. Grundmann
§y6 ß. esp. §yp, Cf. also the following.

8 Wipo, **Frol. c.** i. LMA IV ^934 V iqzo. VI i #6y. VII 88d f. LThK VII' if ly. All sources in Lsmbcrr, An-
**& - 497 Bl. aurh 49 - ^- Hoensbroech 1 8¢. Cf. 86. ground-room, appendix: The Kenerei in the i i.
Century 47* =with many source

ner 4. Erbstößer, Ketzer 67 ff.

Pay LThK ' +4+ IMbrrr s9 ff.
references. Grigulevii- 7q. **Hopf**

Grundmsnn yo ff.

zo Orro v. Free. i,g6 f. LThK fll' 8q5. n' i jqt. VIß' i r j f. 3 i . IX' q87. X' y4 6. LMA ßI zoqo f. N. zoq6.

VI 1964 f. 1233 ff. (Elm). VIII 455. Grundmann 3y, 5 x note 88. Berst, Oie Katharer 83. Lambert Sq, 73 f. yq, 83 ff. qo, q6 f. WemerfErbstö- ßer s33 ff. z3i ff. z y ff. z3q ff. Hebstößtq Heretic 88 f. Field zt'i. Lichtenau, heretics and professors 58 ff.

11 PL x8*. 7f - Hist. Albig. 1.3. annal. Golon. max. MG See XVII p. 77- LMA lV i a. Kollbach i i, y zz f. Hoensbro<* *s*- Grund- mann i q f. w7 ff. Lambert q8 ff. z 8. Lerner/Erbst6ßer j r y. Zhlets

12 Hist. Albig. i 3. LThK II' 54 f. Y' i 3iq, *i* 4 *i S*- VI' 3qq. VII' Ts7 f. zy8y f. LMA t y8y. II z8 ff. gy8. V io6q ff. i45ß. Kollbach log ff. 3z3 f. Döllinget, History j ff. Borst, The Cathars 6fi ff. Kühricq Dir Katharer ş a , Ş ff. Madaule ez f. Schul€t S4 *- Grigulevit 7s !- Lsmb¢rc y6 lf. '7j, yaz- Mülle6 Bogomilcn toz ff. This. îCctttarer ao8. Runciman, HAresie und Christentuaz, zp88, 8p, xiv after Mülleç Bogomilen zoi. Hereditary heretics in ff.

i 3 **LMA IV 1935 f. V 1065 ff. VI 1776. LThK V' 1329, 1415 f. HKG III/2,** sor. Kollbach 3 b 3 . Rihn r38. Lambert i6 . Wemtr/Erbstößtr i-*. i-® ii r e= -'- <-

i3 Cf. Ehltrs r rd, xxx f.

15 Hist. Albig. io. LMA I 3oj. V * *4b- isio.kTRKV'z i;2. Vlfl' 8ty. Döllingeq Documents II

zyj If. Sollbach 3 * M8dautt óO Ê. ó5 ÊÏ. EhlefS i 16 f. Múlleç Katharer zi 5 H.

16 Hist. Albig. i r ff. i y f. LMA I od f. V io6ą f. ioy8 ff. LThK I' j iö. V' i z8 If. lsegl). kelly toy. Sollbach 3o8 ff. j i i ff. 3 i q If. Lea I rite. Rahn i39 f. nti f. Grundmarin z9 f. 6z. Lambert ı35 ff. i S§ ff. +7°- +7I . 18o. Madaule 6o, ö' - 7 - 74 - 77 ff. qo f. Grígulević i88 ff. 3 i3.

Werner/Erbstößerzø ff. 336 If. Mülltq Køtharcr -°7 - -IOf. *+ 7. Deschoes Opus Diabolî qz f. Cf. -Growing Preseaz of the Böscn- bci Dîrizelbachc 4* /*. Ibid. -Reinforced TeufeÍsg1aubr- 8o f. **Patschovsky 317 ff.**

17 LMA I 3or ff. LThK I' zi 8 f. I- j o f. Sollbach joy. Crigufevič i y f.

8 LMA łV *W7- Kelly zçz, ryą. Soil- bach xą f. Hocnsbroech 8 . Seppclt tlł 3.75. Ráhn ^44 *- **g-levič y8 f. EhÌcrs z17' %emer/ErbstöÂcr j şş L Madame 8S f.

i9 LTliK X' ya8 ff. Kelly iqy f. Seppelt III 3y ş f. Gëig- ^*'* 99 >ernerfErb- ciöBer j 6 f. Herrmanii, Keizer i xo ff.

żo Hoensbroech I 8q. Lea II y 3o. Döl- !'-BeĄ historyB *45- Lambert **145 ff. Guillemain 87. Werner/Erbstößer 357 f.**

21 Hist. albie i9 - ã4' ^*9 - - *- Heisœtb. Din1. mirac. ş,x i. LMA 11 i y6o. III qq9 f. i Z* ^ i f. LThK Ill' 3 iq f. IVR xzi. VIII- i i f. HEG II rqj (here Kirat by Guilhem Figucira). Lckai 8i. Seppelt III j 8o. Madnule q6. Rahn i j 6 f., here the Lcnau-ZîłLaŁ. Cf. also ibid. 1Ą3, z y /. z8 . Cuîllemain 8 **y. \ȩ'emer/** Pea taller y yp If. Lambert ftp f.

it Hist. Albig. rd f. LMA I q8q If. z y7z /. łÎł z'ą67 f- 'V zzo Î . VI z8jo. Vlll ij7 5- i95j If. LThK 1' tooa If. II' yq8 ff. V' 33z f. Kiihneq Lexicon not f. Hocnsbroech I j x. Döllingcq documents ß 9z ff. 3y i f. Lea 1.88. Rahn not. z8i. Detailed basic information z . 7*- > s . is If' qi If. xoo If. x i 8 If. Lnmberi 7®- **128 f. 145 ff. Vinay 63. Madaule** 5q f. Hermann, Kctzer ryy f.

23 According to the Annal. Marbsc. i xis, t h e hands of the 8o victims in Strasbourg were burned **before they were cremated**. According to Coes. v. Hei- sterb. DlTl. mim*. 3.i7 to people were burned. Excerpts from the inquieition protocols irø Languedoc inn the beginning of the i4th year bet Döllinge6 documents 11 q7 If. io5 ff. i oq If. i 4 If. u. ø. LMA I q8q If. +4 7 - 439 - **VIII 1375 f. 1953 ff. LThK I'** to i z it. Ill' 4io. V' j3z f. X' 7i8 If. Bold I-exikoii i 8 f. Kelly ^ 9 ' *9 ' 9 ' °7I f. II 4f*- ą. Hotnsbcoech 1.87 f. iO3, IOy f. Lecler I i §6. **Vinz/** - 4- 7 Grundmano too If. Lambert uy ff. Hamrnann H, i,4 3t. Deschner, Aberma ° 4.4

24 Hiøi. Albig. sy f. LThK V' go3. Simmers i7$. Lea I i şz If. i şq If. ßemhard i6t. Scppelt 111,374 ' 3 °- Rahn 40, Ią6 f. Madame qö. ØernerfErhstö&r 36z. Lambert i 3ą

25 LMA II 156o. VI zoş8 ff. Vil Ą1.1 f. LThK VIII- i i I, Stpptlt III j8 i. Mndnule i o . Zõllnet, Dit Geichich- te der Krcuzzüge i sq f.

26 Hisi. Albig. zi f. Seppelt III j8 r. Rahn i 5i

Seire 1y y-i j o

zy His'. Albig. z Cf. also z8. 30 Il.
Hoensbroech I 9o. Lea I i fi8 f. Rahn
* iL

z8 Rahn i j f. Lambert i 37 HISt. Albig,z6, 3 . i'. 57-

29 Hist. Albig. 3 *s* ff. 47 - *3 - *4' -
Caes. v. Heisterb. Dial. mirac., z5.
LMA I 3oy, qq6 f. VIII qua f. LThK
I' 68d. I' io i6. Hoensbroech I qo f.
Leä I ^7-^ Rahn r 5 y ff.
f.
roy If. WemerfErbstöoer j6z f.
Iers i

3º Hist. Albig. Hz ff. q.8 ff. LMA 1 qqy.
Ï[j j T¢Q {. Vj 1Q2,3. Vlll q) I If.
Nach Hoensbroech I 91 wurden 400
-heretic - verbrarlnt, yo hanged.
cf. l'dach Madaule in8es in Cnr-
cassonne -wedtr to BlutvergieBen
nech to plunder-. Rahn r ff. qj Moio z i t Kühncr,
The Kach8Fe^ J7 ^ *^*
Etbs'ögcr j6j

jz Hist. Albig. 2'^ - 49 bf. ION fb.
LMA I oj ff. 9q6 f. 11 i y6o. VI
8oz f. LTliK lX' 6o3 f. Guillemain
8q. Seppelt III 38 i. Rahn röi ff.
i7ö f. a8q Note i i with Litrratu.
Madaule roy, ioq ff. Eli- leniqJ.
Gosten r z9 ff.

32 Hist. Albig. 25 ff. 8o f. LMA VI 6j 6.
Grupp IV iq8. Madaule i i z. Rahn
iß3 ff. z86 f.

33 Hist. Albig. qi ff. ioq f. i rq ff. I3O
f. 1.11 f. LMA * ° '4° VIII
iq38. LThK VIII' * 4 f. Hoens-
broech I qo f. Madame i i x f.
Rahn i 66 ff. z8y, here with source
reference the quotations from
Pierrt dts Vaux-de-Cernay. Ehlers
r¢6

3+ Hornsbroech I 8z f.

5î Hist. Aibig, I7ö-9d . LMA VI
° +4°- ^43 . LThK VIII' 4 -
Sollbath, Nachwoft 350 ff. 3}q ff.

36 Hist. Albig. passim esp. i z ff. io, ¢z,
q8, 8s, i xö, i 3o, i j 5, i 4y f. iöo f.

*7^. ^74- iOz, zD§, zzz ff. zz8 Cf.
zj¢ ff. 3 ÏÊ**. 2§§** f. **158, x66,** z8z f.
i88ft u.o.HKGIV2'*97

z6, 3 . i'. 57- .9'-
' ** ' °4 - < +' ^3 ^4 ' ^ 5 * '
i 6z, zyz, a6z, a8y

38 Ibid 4 - 1 y f.
jq Ibid. jq, I ia f, i i6, i zz
Msdsulego Ibid. npt f. Cf. also i 6o, zo6

Eh-t jo f. z8fi f.

$4 Ibid. 7 +' 71. 39. +¢I IQÖ T31 f.
Davidsohn II -7 7 f.

4^ 'St.Albig-4+› 59› 6z, 68 If. ya, 89,
130, 141, 165 f. 170, 180, 194 f.
AO3, A26 f. On the -matter of Christ-
erwai 85, i97 , zo6, 889 ' 8°4. *57
u. n. Kñhntq Gttciten I i9q

. CHAPTER

K RBIJ ZI I)GE li EG EN LA kTE F4

PREUSSER, STEDIÆGER

1 Belly The Livonian Crusade 3o

2 Blank 3 y

3 HEG II Apr

4 Pst. dusb. Chron. 3, i z; 3, ; 3,q8

5 Ehd. y,j r. Cf. 3 i8. Cf. also
Bentzien q t ff.

6 Lea III x io

7 HelbigfWeinrich l No. 6, No. 8,
1'4r. jn. The volume contains a
wealth of related documents;
also belcgr Volume II rcichhaltiß
the dcur settlements in the south-
east, in khttsia, Poland, ßöhmtn-
Mähren, Ösrerrtich, Hungary-
Siebenbürgen. Furthermore:
Helbig z ff. See also Kötxschke
Ne Ïf. (p. z Ïf.), Ne Io{p. z2l, no. i 3
{p. yo], Ne zr (5. j8), Ne a6 {p. 3J
and many more.

8 Helrn. Chron. play, z,i¢ (i io).

Its i 3 -- 7 '

LMA I 55, 952 f. VI 1541 f. 1545 f. Before io9x f. VIII iqq6 f. LThK III' 883. HKG Ulla, zyy. Hauck N 6z5. Hagenbach **297.** Herrmann, Materi- elle und geiirigc Kulrur z6z. Otri. Arkona on the island of Rügen. Cf. piskorski *7 +. Zimmerling q i

q Helmet. Chron. Slat. i,J7i x,9t. Hauck lV 6y i ff. Herrmann, Din Slswcn j y3. Jordan, Investiiurstreit. Kosmiriski/Skaskin I j 8. Numerous examples of German settlements in the northeast in Helbi einrich I and, in the southeast, ibid. n

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18 Ebd. 14,10

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xc Heinr. Chran. Livon. zi,i; za,i; **26,1; 27,1.**

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z5 Per. Ducb. Chron. a,i; z,5; 3.¡. LMA Y *3's *- -9- HEG t pt6 f. II q6p. ScholIx/wo, t "cki i 3. Bo'o<kmann, Der Deutsche Or- the 88 ff.

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-7 Pet. Dusb. Mron. z,6. LMA IV *54+ !- E$I6. HEG li Kfz ft.

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6, CHAPTER

C A ISER ÉRIE D RI CH IL

(z iqą-i zş o} use Dr ø PX esrø IxxozExz 111th, ÑOl4ORIUs 111th, GREGON IX.

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4 3 *' ^'^İ 3fi fĺ. 41 . Ñă£ltof 0-
wici 8 If. yS. Supplementary volume jø.

Lamnten -o7
zz MG Const. z, Nc ą6 ff. bȼs. No jy.
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ScİtC T gO-lOg

Keller Regional 8egrenzu-S4 33. Kantorowicz 5q f. Haverkamp 6 i 3

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r8 LMA V 70 +f4+' LThK VI' 88 i f. t3ttgoroviU9 III1, lig. Haller IV7 . Zöllnes The C¢scftich¢c of the Crusades rit, Kanrorowicz y8 f.

i q Kelly zo f. Gregorovius 1l/i. 344

zo Sepprlt III j9 i If. Ygi. also the following.

Arm.

zi LThK VII' Io¢j f. LMA VI i8 f. **Hoensbroech I 91 f. Haller IV 7 f.** i8 f. z8 f. Stpprlt III qz. Gottt> man i47 f. *z S8.* La mmers to. **Mzyc;;** History of the Crusades i9t, iq f. Z6llnez, The History of the Crusades i i4

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zy LMA V zqq f. LThK V' 71^ ' * ltr lV zo. Zöllneq Die Geschichte der Kretizzüg€ *36. Mayeq Ge- geschieht der Ktruoüge iq6. Oesch- nes Die Politik der Päpste I z36 ff,

z6 Hauck N yqo. Halltr N zo

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femer tbd. c. 7+. Gesta Trever log. LMA Y 88j. VI 86z.

Sëezop-zzg

LThK VIII- i t i8. Hauck IV 79i Stppclt III 3qz f. Haller N zi f. Pemoud I Z. *7-- Kühneq Tabus qd. In detail about the conquest of Damiette: PoMÍ ^ 44 - S7 - ^- i 6z ff. GDrnfeldfflotterweck III 8i 3 If. Zöllneç The history of the

KfoUzz trains zz7 ^ – '-s Gr¢gorovius
of the Crusades z y y fč. Langham
37 ff.

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*8 373

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mers 210 f.

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Zöllneq The history of the Germanum aano
ß^ 4Msytq History dtr

' ^*7* f. Xclly . &erzcr/ %eIte fV y z z f. Gmgorovius IVz,
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j y Kelly żoy. Cregorovius łV E , j şt f. Group ÏV 4 z4. SeppeÍt Uł ą ¥ j. Zôll- neq The history of the Kmuzniige
*4

Ge5Chİchwy6 LMA III E8j8. Y øzœ.

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Kreuzzü-ąo Acta pacts ad S.

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Kelly zoy. WetzerfWclte IV yr a.

Haller IV øo. Scpptlt Ill q i i

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LMA ß i 6tø. VII i jaq If. Taddcy *S*
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W ş 8 If. Seppelt III 4io f.

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$p3

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Wtoerf'felie 11 8ot ff. HKG 111/s, *7 - Hoensbroech 1 ^ 9 . ^ +7 f. i tt f. with the source bclegen. Lra I J38 f. Lm (z UB y) 86 ff. Rouoo-Vare- ° *7- GrÍgUle* *7 *. Dinzelhacher y i. Druseri j6. On {sp'àteren} In- quisition in Germany cf. for example Knee 3o If. bu. qq ff.

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CHAPTER 8

Kwlsee **Fniconicn II. uxo**

PA "S "r jj ti-iOZRXZ IV.

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CHAPTER 9

END OF THE STauzxn, AscE LiEn AwjOU

z Koch, **The End of the Hohenstaufen** House 3y8

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3 Kupisch, Kirchengcschichce M yp4 Gregorovius lVz, ty i

5 LMA V z r8§ ff. VI zy6 f. LTkK 1f* y z6. VI' 6yj. VIV zoy8 f. Pierer X S7* ^-zzer/Welre V\ 6 z. Ehlers SS!"

6 Salimb. Cron. i99. Annat. Marbac. **i zz6. LMA** II, zy 8 f. V zi 8¢ ff. VI 8 zpf, LThK 11' i 6. Vl' io98 f. Pic- **° ä7* f, WctzerMelte VI 6j i ff. Fichtinger zy . Lca (r985J 38a f. Herde t i. Mayes Geschichre der Kreuzziige zxq, Ehlers "7 - s- - y LThK VI' 693

8 Kelly Mio. Mayer History of the " *° ^°7 f. Ehltrs i 56 ff.

9 Salimb. Cron. I i 86f. Cf. also ibid. j , qj, r3 . LThK VIII' 1386. herdt 3o

IO Salimb. Cron. 1.3 x+' 3.44 - '^°^+ sz8. WttzcrfWorld VI 6jo: -of zooo Msnii wsrtn hardly **left** after **6ooo. LMA** I zjy. LThK **VI'** ioq8. seppelt II 47*- - = - "d *9 >- >97i 3°+, 3o . GRbrieli 341 ff. 3§9 f$. 3 jz{ 3fiO 36t. Mayer History of the Kre° *8^ ^^7 . Ehlers iyy, i y. Htrde jo f.

II LThK Vl' iog9, Fichtinger j o. Haller IV i8z, zxy f. z5 z. V zu. SepptJt III 47* Pernoud 3ß3 f. G8brieli ja3 f. Ehltrs i 8 ff. Swing **189 ff. bes. 191**

12 Salimb. Cron. 1l ao f. LThK VII' *S!- 449' *773 !- Haller IV i 8z f.

13 LMA 1.1833. III -4zo f. < 7i6 ff. 4.7 - T0ddty yi6 f. HEG II io5, ion If. drv Lexikon i z, x6 i f. KinderfHilgenisnn I i7 q. Haller IV 1.1.5 $. 5Chmieder 7 -

i LMA Vl y 8. Haller lV r i 6 f. i 3q. Seppelt III 6a f.

15 Ysi. Mnngal. Prol. 3, c. i, r, 3,a; 6,a ff. 8,d If. q,8. Salimb. Cran. I +7 ff. i8 i f. LMA 75K }Hflt III q86. Schmitdtr i4 ff. zoff.

r6 YSt. MOftg8L 9, I O; 9, I §; 9,1.9; 9.3 d¡ 9 -{3 f* LMA 111 i 2,+' 7l7- **Schmieder 12**

'7 LiviA VI iqx. Taddey 2S8 f. Haller IV i 85 f. Seppeli III ‹7 -

*8 I-MA V tjyo f. LTItK VI' z8o. Seppelr 1ti §z9. 4** *^**!!-r IV** I86 ff. Koch, Dit descendants 5.3

19 LMA V qß3. VII 8o9 f. Halltr IV

Seite 300–324

i88 f., which I follow here in particular. In Seppelt III 479-make the Pspsi proposal concerning the 5cbiedsge- richt. Flock i4 - <' pure I8j ff. *Mayer* Geschichte der Kreuziüge -9 LMA 1.1369 f. LThK X' -{33. K0t- ^3+. M7

Kübnt6 Lexikon i i i. Haller IVIIPz

189 f. Seppelt III 481. Herde 36 f.

mı LMA V ı 368. Taddey ö67. Haller IV ıqof. Seppclt III 47 . d8z ff. Her en 3 . 49- <ech, The coming of age ı 9 o . jy

zz Saflmb. CrOn. !! **4 f. Kühner, Lcxi- kpn zo6. Kelly zz z. Haller IV iii Seppelf III q®4 ***- Herde** 37

zj Salimb. Cron. II z z j ff. LThK I' j i Kelly j6y f. HEG 11 6xq f. HKG lIIfz, z53. Kelly rio f. Kühncs Lexikonf. Hallez, Die Herku* °54 .

LMA II 373, 3qS. III i 58o. Vl i qr. f.

VII 8 io. LThK 1' j68 f. Kell di i. Gregorovius 11/z, qög. SeppeltIll ff. 494 - 5 io. Hsller lV Kühneq The Empire i9y. Zim- mtrmann i6 f. Reisingtr 8q. Koch, The end of the Hohenstaufen HRu---i yöf. Herd j

zj LMA 1 y3. VM 8o9 f. HallerIV roy If. xz8. Seppel' 488 f- 49 The

z6 Dante, lnferrio XXXII 73 If. LMfi $8 f.

IV iqö f. VI iq*' 77 . 6Z. Taddey 7**. Kelly x' i, HKG lll/z,. Gregoroviu- **. 4 37- Seppeli III ¢qi ff. Haller IV no ff. Herd End

^7 LThK 1' 888 f. l* 3ÖQ. II' jy1 f. IVA o8. LMA I j 8q f. 663. pierer II ryu. XIV zq¢. Grcgorovius11/z, Krcrschinayr 11 yq If. Sepprlt III qr ff. 4s* ff. Haller lVS y f. Küh- Das lmperiumq6

vius 11/*. 443. 447- Haller IV xxo ff. f. Srppclr III 5oz ff. 5°7- ühnrq the The empire i 96. herd i8, 3q ff. off.

Mayer Geschichte der Kreuziüge -9 LMA 1.1369 f. LThK X' -{33. K0t- zer/Actie I]354 TsddeY7 HKG zo , zy y. Gregorovius Il/z, d#3,

450. Haller IV 225 f. 246. Seppelt III

yoş. RCİsİft6°^ • f. KühftPq Das empire ı q6. herd xq ff. 37 ff. yol. ı tx. Engels, Die Smufer also the foregoing. Note.

zz Saflmb. CrOn. !! **4 f. Kühner, Lcxi- o LMA V y8j. HKG III/z, zyy, Haller kpn zo6. Kelly zz z. Haller IV iii IV 8z6£f. ajof. Seppelt III yotff. Seppelf III q®4 ***- Herde** 37 Herde §z f, 45 *!

zj Salimb. Cron. II z z j ff. LThK I' j i Kelly 8tj f. OIÖViIäS !**' 447 - j6y f. HEG 11 6xq f. HKG lIIfz, z53. Haller IV•34 ff. Scppclt III oJ, Kelly rio f. Kühncs Lexikonf. i ff. Herd d6 f. Hallez, Die Herku* °54 . LMAVI 3 i . Kühric's Lexicon zq

LMA II 373, 3qS. III i 58o. Vl i qr. f. i I z f. Gregorovius 11/z, 448 f. 45 i

VII 8 io. LThK 1' j68 f. Kell di i. 4I44 3- 8! °+ *!* ^4* ' Gregorovius 11/z, qög. SeppeltIll 3 LMA 1 i q i i. Gregorovius lUz, 88 ff. 494 - 5 io. Hsller lV '17. Seppelt III 5 i j f. Haller IV Kühneq The Empire i9y. Zim- z If. Herdc 47 mtrmann i6 f. Reisingtr 8q. Koch, 34 Citation bri Gregorovius IVA, q6z The end of the Hohenstaufen HRu---i 5 Dante, Purgal, ,io3 ff, Kühneq Le- 3 yöf. Herd j yxikon ro8. Crqo-ovius Ilfz, 4Sj f.

zj LMA 1 y3. VM 8o9 f. HallerIV Haller lV td6, egg, t6z. Htrde4. 8. roy If. xz8. Seppel' 488 f- 49 ^^S° ^ Öft- st "uf'r i9i. Kech, The

z6 Dante, lnferrio XXXII 73 If. LMfi End of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, j $8 f.

IV iqö f. VI iq*' 77 . 6Z. Taddey Cf. also 3 j t 7**. Kelly x' i, HKG lll/z,. 6 LMA I i qo8. Grtgorovius life, Gregoroviu- **. 4 37- Seppeli 111q6q f. Haller fV xqö If. Seppelt III ¢qi ff. Haller IV no ff. Herd 37y Ik f. Herdt49. i. Koch, The End

^7 LThK 1' 888 f. l* 3ÖQ. II' jy1 f. IVA of the gtaufic house y y8 o8. LMA I j 8q f. 663. pierer II 37 LMA V ^+ 93473 - < +°7 ^- ryu. XIV zq¢. Grcgorovius11/z, PicrcrII tq . Taddey74.5. s*› Bio. Krcrschinayr 11 yq If. Sepprlt III io36. HK£i]Il/z, US. Gregorovius qr ff. 4s* ff. Haller lVS y f. Küh- >*.489- 474 . Grupp IV 3g3. net Das lmperiumq6 4f.i- ff. Reisinger 86 ff.

z8 LMA IH i ß o . V q83. VIII ^®4- 38® Braunschw. Reimchs a. i z68 (S. LThK X' 433· Kelly z io ff. Kühncr, Lexicon io7. HEG II 6zi. Gregory LMA IV zo qf. HKG IIIfa, i 6. Gregornvius II/z,7 6 f. Hitler

Seite 324–342

IV zy6 If. Seppclt 1ł15 i ff. Herde f4 Koch, The end of the Staufi house o s

şp Lodeser Axonymus (. I *. I167-

LMA IV zo6o. Vtff yj f. Grcgofo *'°^ ^ ' 478 ff. Schalleq Zur Veru> teilung Konradiøs j i i ff. Nirschke z68 If. Haller N zy9 f. Herd ş8 lf

Engels, The Hohenstaufen iq i

to Sëchc. Weltchc a. i zö8 lS. z84 J. LMA V i 368. Kühneę Lexicon io8 f. Ders. Das Imperium iq8. Ders. cczeiten ż ro. l 'egorovius TÏ/ø, 4 +fč.Herde ¢z ff. Koch, The end of the stsufic Hau50S 3§8

4 GcegOI'OVÎus 1Vz' 4®7 *- Haller V zzf. Koch, The end of the Stiufian house j y8

10. KAPITEL

The H "SBURGER KOßii*1ELf

1 Vgl. Anm. 6

z Sächs. Weltchr. Ersre bair. Contin. a. -=s'l s. ii I

3 Hal1eq Dit epochs of the German Gtschichtc yq

4* 7* . Kühnts Crxikoa xo9 f. Kelly znt ff. Gregorovius I1/x, 4 7 **- Hauck V/z 6 f. Lea I j zof. Runciman 57- +zi If. i 8 i. Seidlinaytr not f. Halltr V zq f. Seppelt III$_5$ iqff. Hertliiig i9i. Zim**mermann 167 f.**

5 Eike von Repgow 3, 57, 2. LMA III 1918, 2030 f. V 804, 1263, 1581 f. VI 1554. VII 809 f. 1072, 1074. IX 6. LThK III› 657. Kelly 214 ff. Taddcy d86, Boyd. Kühnez, Lexicon top f. Wilpcrt III zøzy f. Grcgorovi- us ÏVz, 49o' Scppclt III y x I. şøp If. Herd 88. **Zimmermans** i 6$. En-

gel, Rudolf von Habsburg xjo If. Køch, The End of the House of Støufisrhen 3J8

6 LhfA I jp6, 1y y z. łV z8 zş. V j77 If. VT 47' **Kelly** z 4 f. **Taddey** ioy6. Gregorovius 11/x, dqo f. Seppelt III 5*7' 53 I. Herde J3 f. Zimmermans i 69. Engel, Rudolf von Habsburg

4- *49

y LMA I i 3yo. V q 4 - 34 . HEG H 6ja f. Kelly zi ş. Seppclt Ill @z f.

8 LMA V q83. VII -°74 LThK V' ioi of. KtlÍy zt ş f. Seppelt lll 5az If. y3j. Haller V 33 If. Engel, Rudolf von Habsburg z q

q LMA V qj8. Kühneq Lexicon i to f. Keily xi6 If. Giegoroviuc II/-. 4sS f. Hauck V*^. 44s- Davidmhn II a. T. ia8. Srppelt III jyy If. Haller V j6

to Dante, Div.Comm. .4ff. iq, 6i f. LMA VI i xyof. VIII i6y8 f. HEG II 6lz. LThK VII' 8õj f. Kelly II ÿ /. OI'OVİUS Î**- 497 If. i-fauck Y/1, ąą8 f. Davidsohn IY j. T. **27. Seppelt III 543, 554. Herde 92 f.**

11 LMA VI 1093 f. Lea III 27 f. Dresdner y8. cf. **ecwa- Angcnendt** r6z. Lùck ty f. Seller tz8. Villcr/ Rahner zoo. Kawerau, Die nestorianischen Paniarchate i iq ff. Reinhard i ą ç If. ßosl, History ßay**cms I 6Z. Prince -7°. P8dbrrg i i8 f.**

iz LMA VI j4i f. HEG II 63) f. Piercr XVI to. Kelly zzof. Gregorøvius 11/ Ł 5 - ï°4 . Htrde 28, qj f.

i3 LMA VU i qą8 f. LThK lX' 47- Ø*4- - rer XVI ro. KeÍly tzo. Gregnrotius Wz, yo$ Sepprłt III J6o. Flock

6 ff. yy, 8o, qo, qq f.

+4N 949- ^ 407. V! fq9, ^9^4 f. VII A3 - '949- LThK VIII' zO8. IX' 47- HEG II 6jj f. ßierer

XVI to. Herd too If.

Page i 43-3 6o

i J LMA IV p36. V zo 9 f. (Brexc). VI 3qz, i9z3 ff. VII i 9q9. LThK IX' 47- HEG II 6j y. Kelly izo f. Gregorovios Itfz, 5o ff. Herd ioq ff.

i6 LMA VI t3 , i j 53. VII i 88. Taddey 9i i. Lhoiaky if ff. On the - rise of the Habsburgs- cf. esp. cbd. **30 ff.**

*7 LMA i 6 i i. Vl 1 3 f. ViI io7z If. IX 85 f. HEG II4 oq. Taddey z86, qr i f. Ploeti 9y. Lhotsky zo If. 6q. Engel, Rudolf von Hsbsborg z f .

z8 LMA VM 89^' +°7 f. VIII z i88. IX 86 Lhotsky ii. *7- *°ge1, Rudolf of Habsburg zq3 ff.

r9 LMA I j i i f. N i 8i y, ao8o. VII *7!- 6¥O II. 1073 f. ErkenS 79- ° 97- LTtiK IVW r 3Q§. HEC II qoq f. Hessel i i ff. Herde 6i f. Lhptsky z8 ff. qj ff. Si *- 7+ f. Engel, Rudolf vnn Habsburg z ö. Dies. Al- brecht I. z 8. Arnold, Princes and Territories ii ff.

zc LMA I r57Äaj . HEG 1.4 f Taddey io f. Hessel zd ff. j i ff. Heinrich, Quellen zur Verfassungs- geschichte des römisch-deutschen Reiches r8z ff. Tl*8 88 78. otsky 73 . Engel, Rudolf of Habsburg *4®. This. Adolf von Nassa- -s *- Dies. Albrecht I. z}q f.

21 LMA I i y8 f. IV lj 13- II i 86 . IX jjy. HEG 4O6f. Kühne9 Lexikon i i4 . Hessel 4o. 47 f. LichitoW5y 1.1.1, z z 7. Boockmann, Mitten in Europa iqi ff. Engel, Adolf von Nassau *st * Leuschoe+459-

22 LMA VI 8 i87- VIII rq r r. HEG II 4 7- Weinrich, Quellen zor Verfas- sungsgeschichtc des römisch-deut- schen Refc1ifl- *°4- Hesse 55 f. fio ff. öq f. Boockmann, In the middle of Euf0[Hf ^94 gul, Adolf von Nas- **sau 256**

13 Sächs. Welichx, Thüring. Forts. a. I zq8 lS. }o8). LMA IV - s i'- >*- zer/Welte If q i, nier kills Albrechi King Adolph -with his own hand-. Taddcy y t. Hessel i If, 6 If. Sep- pelt IV Zo. LichnowsF +4 If. Grandson, Albrecht I. z6 i. Lhotsky q6 ff.

^4 8*CÜ5. K9ltchz, Thüring. Continued a. tss (3 9L LMA I t z. IV I3 i3.

HEG II 4°7- Hesset 8q- s- 9 *7 ' KOSiflÏnski 1.3 xx. Lhorsky 43 . with a wealth of qucllcri hints on physical appearance and character. Engel, Al- brecht I. z6o

sy Davidiohn III *47 Hessel i zz If.

z8. Fringes azy. Lhotskl *fi4 !*- z6

Süchs. Weïrchron., Thüring. Forts u. Erstc Bütr. Force. a. I3O8 (5. j i z, 33.1 Ï.). LMA 1.3 i j. III xI d I' 949- V i 5qj f. z i 6 . VH tq $. Vlll zi 88 ff. HEG 11 4 7- 5 ' Q 1I l êL Taddey 93. Hessel i z8, i 3B ff. 4* . +49 - 1.53 ff. i 6i ff. i 67 f. zzz ff. Meyeq B., Snidien zum habs- burgischen Hsusrccht i j 3 ff. Seppclt lV . Lhotsky i 39 ff. 114 ff. angel, Albrecht 1. z65 f.

i i. KA PITEL

• ... 'IX'tE THE RELEASER YERRATEN -.

Papst Coelestin V. (1294) und Papst Bonifaz VIII. (1294–1303)

i Kiihaeq Dus Impwium zoë

s Giovanni Villani, cited hei Chambrrlin **132**

3 Dino Compogni, ibid.

¢ Fink 5 r

y Cregprovius liïz, }¢6

6 Larn roy
77 - lHodo. LThK ll' icoq. II' i z¢8. HEG II 6j $. Gregorovius *W 5* i 3 f. **Finke,** Aus den Tagen Bo- nifac VIII. by. Scppclt III i8 i. Chambtclin qJ ff.

8 Dante, Inf. y,yq f. LMA II i . III 7 ff Kühnes Lexikon i i 6 f. Kelly zxy. Gregnrpvius Ilfz, ,i i3 Cf. y i 7 ff. Finke, Ans den Tagen Bonifaz VIII. ¢o ff. 6y, a66 f. Seppelt III 584 f- Kühnci; Das Imperium roy. Oiam- bcdin ioi fi. i io, i ty II. Kicsewct- 3+4 ff. jxy, cf. also i a, i y lDigardJ

q LMA4'4- Kelly zzt. Kiihneq Le- xikon i ty f. Grcgoravius llfx, y i6 ff.
Firtke, Aus den Tagtn goff. 6 . Sep- pelt N q. Chambcrlin roy. On the abdication of Coelcsùn V. cf. auck Bcrtram, Dit Abdankung i ff. Curi
os u. a. das «Märchen» 58 f.

io LThK 11' **ioaq.** 11' yyq, i z¢ß. Ha- gcnbach q i. Gregorovius IIfx, y rq f. Hertling iq3. Seppelt BI ¡ 7' *ly* io. Chsinherlin io9 ff. i ij f. Kie- scwetter 3t6 ff. here a detailed account of the conclave. description of the conclave from all
4.Dmmdr #)YLa "k J3 "LhiAI*oio.*4U .Kt6eçlrx- con r rp. Xelly zz7 -. Gregorovius lVk- 5+ !' S7-ff· Davidsokn ïu t f. } ff. Chambrrlin iaq ff., which I here ttilwtisc followed. Cf. also &utin, Die Revolution j$ f.

i z LMA II i4 f. Kelly aa6 f. Kühne6 Lexicon i i6. Gregorovius life, y i 8, Hz i f. Scppelt IV i z f. Chambtrlin qq, io8. Kitscwttter -77 *- -®® *-

i Mh' 4'*5, Mt. i 3,iz, z ,zq, Lk. ,p*a LMA II4S* '] 7, *3 9.
HEG II 63ö. Gregorovius llfz, i i, s-3. 14° Ñ. Finke, Ans den Tagcn

i in If. i §q f. Eitel 83 ff. Davidsohn ll$ zy. Sepprh N zo, i-t. Chambtr- lin i i Sff. Kiesewetter 3i i. 4*9 Htrrinann, Kirchenliirsttn 6z, a book that -refers to the huge £erg of immorality, unsirte, Yerbrcchen, -which popes in the course of Gc- schichir aniiäuften -, so Htrrmann in his äuBerst readable **value**

-What I think- 8j.

I3 LMA III 5a ff. s7f. WmerfKeltc Il qo. Kelly aa6. Gregomvius llfz, zq. 5eppelt IV iq lf. Diambrrlîn I oy, i i 8, i bof.

z y LMAIt tt y. LThKY'yo6. Kelly zz6. Grcgorovius II/z, yzy f, jjy. Finkc, Ans den Tagen i i8 ff. Seppett IV zoff. Gontard a86. Chamberlin i zz ff.

z6 Ærcrzer/P7drc pz. Ke1)y --7- G¢¢gO- rovi-s IVA, y-6f. Ffoensbroeck I y6, y67 f. Lea H z38 ff. Davidsohri 11 z.

T. z$$- 4°7t 45o ff. III q If, qj f.

i 349- I- T 4- PP° **' 8rmhart i7y. Gontard z86. Cliam- brrlin i iq H.

+7 77+ * +7 ^- +*4^ " !

+*7 . (Luæaù)Keäy zz(.Küknçç Lexikon i i7 . Gregorovius Il/x, y i i, T*7 +. Eifel 88. datidsohn III ¢ f. Goriterd z86. Cliambcrlin, i z6ff-

i8 I-MA IV q y f. V z8z, q8 . VI i qz . V11 zq6o ff. HEG ß 63d f. Kelly izj. Scppelt HI yy$ ff. lV i i. Kiesewctter i86 ff. iq6 ff. xeo ff. my f. zo8- Cf. also j98 et al.

iq Dante, Purg. to,7j f. LMA II qry. HI s** ff. IB °la). IV i is, s" - V 994 VII rq6i f. HEG 11.63 f. Kelly aa6. Potthast i, z4473, *z S* i j8. gre- S - -'-- +-. 534 f. Finke, Aus den Tagen iq f. z8. In detail; David- sohn III i ff. esp. g z ff. i x3 ff. i 6

i 6q, i69 ff. i 85 f. zjy. Seppclt IV i i ff. Hesset i iq, Kosminskf 1.380. **Kiesewetter 277 Anm. 2, 284, 289,** t9 i If. 88

£O LMA III i5 85. 777 f. VI zo6x. Con- LThK 11' 8o. VIII' zjo f. Mirbd Aland 1qj7. Kelly tt6. Gregorovius y i i7- Feinn I jo6. Seppr]l IV8 i6. Syn, v. Tol. 4i93. LThK V' rode. i 6 If. Chambcrlin+4 ^ f.

11 LMA N xoxq f. WetzcrfWelte II qq. Chamberlin ij9 f. Kupisch 11 toz. Herrmann, Princes of the Church 6z f.

22 LThK 11* j CO. X' s73 Ï. X'w. X'37a 4 f '*'4 • Kelly xxv. Gregorovius It/z, 3 , p38. Finke, From the days i # f. z 5 f. Eichmann io 53 f. Schuster **i8o.** Feine I **z6¢.** Seppelt IV 3off. Schirnmelpfrnaig too. Herrmann, Kirchcnfürstcn 6z f.

*3 LMA Vi zo6z. LThK X' 3y . Schu- i i4 . GonC. T-l. (ö 3} can. y7-66. ster i 8o. Seppclt IV Hz ff.

24 LMA V ty . VI i zi ¢, **xo6z, Schubert** I ' ¡ °' *' 937- ' ^3+- * I ^^7-18 .1 f. Browe, Die Judenbckämpfung Finke, Aus den Tige° 7-PV • zQO. Schmidt, Dit 8rkehrung j i z. *t4* z6 tt. jj f. Chambtrlin i a ff. Konetzge So. Ritzer M 3x. Maitq The Kienwetter 3za Transformation Doz, 3ofi. Eban ioq.

*5 WetzerfWclte 11 s4- Otthasr z, Dannenbauer 11 fi¢. Thompson, The Aj Zg1. lfi N 3 $ $. Cotbs ix5 ff. Altamira, Spatff ^73 '

z6 LMA $ 4 ^ 5 f. vl xziq. LThK 11' 58o. Linder d r8. Culican iqj. Claude, VII' 8q r. Wetzer/Welte II qq. Finke, Geschichte der Wesigoten y8, gof. From the Tß8*° *73 ' WtfflÄatt +7 -9 ' Seppelt IV 3y ff. Chamb-rlin +47 - II Ü tg8f § 2 j. OtTt SOft ß Gelmi, Grabdendenkrnsltr i8yGoths 7 f. Claude, Ceschichtt dtr

^7 Chamberlin i i ¡Westgo-°° 77- ^°°. ßand 68

i z. CHAPTER

CHB IST kI CH BS JU D Etf MO R OEt4

i Mi rELALTRR

z Pascal, Pcnsécs zpy Aph. 64-, italic Gcsc¢ztes emphasized by rxir.

a Claude, Skillful West e'"zs

j lime+4+ 9

q Vgt. dave Abermals ç 3 f. **5 HEG II 158**

6 Foerstnr ron. Vgi. Bates y3

7 Kobcr 6zi ff. Thompson, The version z8. Schopen 3 i f. Eckert/Ehr- tich a$

IIz. Abt1. 6qy. Group 7- Purkts, The Conflict 3öq f. Bates aIq. Diepgen l z3i f. SeIfC 7l- Kiihne9 Tabiu j6

q Greg. Tue Hint. Franc. 5, o. LThK '6i 8 f. Kober fiii. Schuhen I i 8y. Billesrcros $ i. Baten zo¢

Parkcs, The Conflict Append. I 38 i f. Culicaii iqa. Lieder q i 8ff. ajof.

LMA VII i 938. piertr XVI rqq. Kel- **LThKly** 8 . Gzms II a. **T. 7g ff.**

i3 Lex. Visig. XII t,z ff. 8 Conc. Rol. {S}3) c. i z. Parkes, The Conflict 36o. Browe, Dit Judenmissioe z33 f. Ritzer 11.3s. Voigt i qq. Strohtker ZOO. OM JdOR, € ZOU2O ¢ . Altamira, Spain iyy. Claude, Adrl, Church i 3j ff. iq3 f.

14 Lex. Visig. XII x,i4i 3,i If. ¢. Syn. Tot. lö33) c. q If. Browe, Dit Juden-

Page 3qy-qoq

bckämpfuøg not f. Dit Judtn- mission i6z f. Ritzrr II 3t. Konetzge ąn. Thompsnn, The Barbarian King- doms 3of. Ders. The Goths z3ş if. Altamira, Spain i yq f. Linder 4 i q. Anton 6 i. Diesnes King Wamba i y, yd.

15 ^7- °°- ° {6qą J c. 8. -The Jews added a new covenant to t h e i r old one, that they wanted to enrich the land and the people after they had been baptized as Jews. Their property was given to the fiscus and they themselves were made scla- ven. Their children were taken from the seventh century and later given in marriage to Christians. Their £igcnt owners were not allowed to tolerate any Jewish cebri- cations with them.- LMA III i 6n8 f. Gams II z. Abt. i 83. Browe, Die Judenmission r64. Voigt i ş i. Thompson, The Barbary Kingdoms 3i f. Ders. The Goths z 6 ff. z78. Claude, ńdcI, Kir- cfc ®4' +9r· Dms. Gcschichtc dcr @esrgotcn 8z f. Dicsncc King **Wamba 18**

i6 HEG II i ş6. LThK V' io3p. Eban i i ş, i z3 ff. Mautner Markhof iq. BosI, Europe iin the Middle Ages i şo. Ÿgl. aucĬ4 &uys ï Z If. s r5 If.

*7 Chron. Muzarab. y i. Schubert I zy6. Browe, Die Judenmission i 6ą. schmidt, Die Bekehruflg 31a. Borhn

z8. Komcmann 11 ø86 f. Maie9 The transformation z8 z, jos. Buchner

• ss- Konttzgt q7. Dsnitl-Rops 434 - <werau, GeschİciIte der alten Kirche q i. Coltr 11 a3. Claude, Ge- schichte der West&oten 8 z f. The beginnings of the Wicder settlement 6 i z

z8 Baer II y, żÿÿ f. Pinay 699

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20 Syn. Va1ld. 113 Z1) C* 2t. Syn. salam. {i 33ş) c. iz. Cf. also Batr I I 4*. *i 59*

21 Syn. Pal. c. ş u. 6. Baer I qz6 ff.

cz LMA I 3qj f. IV z°5 °7' rer XII 8q f. Gains IM i. Abd. I fl3. Baer II ter, zi8

23 Privileges for Jews by kings of Aragon in: Beer I N^ 47' $3' *°. *s- 68, 88, 9-- 93- --' *- ' 75

a. To ouręm text inn I'"s "ndo rcn: Nc ą z p. 6ş8, No 4* p. *7*.

^ 4*6 S. *7 ; No- 4 2 5. 6 7- No. **410 S. 657; Nr. 413 S. 661; Nr. 417 S. 667; Nr. 427 S. 679; Nr. 428 S. 680; Nr. 414 S. 662; Nr. 421 S. 675; Nr. 422 S. 675; Nr. 456 S. 716. –** Inquisition acts about Jews collected bet Baer II 437 ff. - In the Inquisition trial of Mari Sanchez i ą85 in Spain it is explained that the Inquisition only affected the rich: Beer II No. i 93 p. 444- 4 i

+4 accuses the lnquisitionsproicsei of a Jewish woman in Spain, among other things, of having a crucifix z5 years ago {!),

dos her husband hgimgrbratht, ver-

Acting in accordance with the law Batr 11 Ne 3qş p. 447- - Others are accused 4®® 'n Spain by the Inquisition of reading the Bible in Hebrew.

to have: ibid. 11 Oh 3q2 p. 4$4- - Vgi. also l to f. *54 ff. fió5

*4 LMA IV Ifi4 79° +Owe, The Fighting the Jews ziz. Bates a i q. &uys God f. Heinsohn iq8 f.

25 LMA V y9 i. Roth z8 i f.

26 Syn. agde ($O^T+- 4^- gỉ. C. I3. 34- . Syn. orl. (yj8) c. jo. Cf. c. zş; z8. Syn. Mâcon (ş8 i) c. th f. Cf. c. **2; 15; 16; 17. Syn. Paris (614) c. 17.**

Page ązo-ąi y

Cf. c. z j. Chlot "zii II. edict. c. to. **Greg. Tue** T4isr. Franc. y,z z; 6,1';r. Fredeg Chronin. *$!s-* MG LL Cap. j8 LMA VII 8io I. Browe, Die Judenbe- I Nb i 3i, p. tj8. Ftmer: Die sntijüdischen Erfasst weiterer Synoden Orléans, Vannes, Clermont, Reimeand Chaton-sur-Saöne. In addition Oeschntq Again qyzf. - LhlA **2155. IV 728. V 790. Hauck I 150. Linder 414 f.**

*7 LMA l zi6. LThK I' *S3* f. Gams Krämer-

2. Para. §I. xiv, izoff. ijo. Giese, Besl, Euro- tyo. Bcuys z9o. ff. Boshof In iiinenpolitische Heinrich IH.: 8zj ff.

z8 Adhent. v. Chsbsn. ja7 ! zppzf. IV yyj. V 7pt. Vji xo6z. Gcupp ITI z86 f. Browe, Die}udenbekämpfung xi 3. Sciferth q. Grebr qy f. Czcrmak qy ff. Songs ' 7- Zapperi i i q. Vgi. also Deschnes

* 47^

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Ye**LThK VIII³, 1209 f. X¹ 1102 f. LMA** II 78d. 'V z yp **(Iɛirmeier).** VII 879f. **Ziegler** y f. Roth aaj ff. **Hirsch' Schuder 145 f. Eder 64 f. 68 ff.**

3i l$Qlt j 7 '

32 LThK 1' 6ja. Kühnep Lexicon a6s f. Hirsch/Schuder z ff.

33 Donin lH rdo ff. i y3 f. Roth zzy f.

j4 IMA IV 7$. Hruby z8$. Roth Ex. Ackemann toj

35 7P4- Qp , Kisch 7^ ^ !* **252 f. 269**

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The Jewish Micsion *S7 !* *-+ !- Mrinsohn Spy

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13. KAPITEL
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Seite 430–449

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K*5 R LUD*'°IY.D5RB*¥¥R
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r Mustafa, A. 79 . Quoted from
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j Mussato, A.W. q 8 ff.
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Hoensbroech I 3z, jy, 87. Hansen
ijj, z z If. Lea I 6zq, III 73 '
tq J. lppeldschwaigcr xiq f. Heel Mittelaltrr y z. Thomas i38 ff. 8orst,
Mönche am Bodensee 256
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° *^ 4 . Seibt, Konsolidit-

crimp 83 f. Geremek 5z writes: "much indicates that the **funds** tingenorrimencn by deo **8ettelorden** were only partially vtrrtilt to the poor. The ethos of poverty and the -charitable awakening' were largely exploited insciru- tionally in this way.- On johann v. Winterthur: Borst, Mönche am Bo- densee --4 *- . z66 u. zyj. The Zistcrzienscs, who had initially denounced the wealth of the Cluniazcnser sn-, soon became enormously rich themselves: Geetz, Leben 7^ ff. For a long time gessmmelies critical material on Franz von Assifii was lost to me. Approaches daiuetwa in the article -Franc von Assisi und drr Krieg- by Rohert Müchtcr at *G.* Röwer qqs f.

xy LMA IV 9jq f. i ioz. V zi j8 f. VII io;rq f. HEG i i 4 i 6 ff. Menzrl I 63z et seq. Friize z75 f. **Lhotsky zzo** ff. Thomas go ff. -t f.

rd LMA IV xo8z f. V 54 y, zi 7q. Vl 8H. HEG II4 iö ff. Taddey 38i f. jqo f. Gtegorovius IIfi, 6z6 f. Ueding 4- Webrrf Rambold 4' 4 +. Davidsohn m y69. Pircnne i 86. Lhotsky zu H. zz6 ff. a37, z7i ff. a8o. Abel y. Frit-

^77 • QWäS RR § J. §§ /.

So ff. yy f. qi ff. red ff. i o8 f. Bmick-

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i6 LMA V q§. ^+79- LThK I' 4- Gregorovius ilfi, 6 6 If. öj i. Lta III T$3. Davidsohn lIl ö89. *g1.also 6 q. Femer7 q6. Eichmanrt/Mörs-sungen -. Dorzauer y6 dorf III i 88 If. SrpprldSchwaiger zzo. Gontard joi. Schimmlpfenoig *37 . Frits° °79 i g If.

'7 KUSS6tO, A.W. 3• 57• LMA I zo¢3. 111,678 f. Viii +7^ï. ChïOUSt If. q i ff. 5eidlmayer aaa. Tho-

*79' OfftäS*4› 1.30 fÉ.

z8 TItOrf18S Jij, FfitZg^79 vidsohn Ill y i z,7 z6 f. 5eidlmayer zzz. SchimmelpfenniB z33. Thomas i, iq4.

Mti6sato, A.W. 3.3 ff. LMA VlIIzo64- Grcgorovius llfz, 638 ff. ö4 i I f . Chroust 68 ff. 8 i ff.ff. If. bee. io8 f. i q7 If. ThoinaS

193 Ü. lH fÊ.

zi Mussaio, * W 4° ff. Gregorovius 11/ i, 6q3 ff. 65o f. Chrouei i i 3 If. Tho- Chroustmas zot ff.

zz LMA VI 33s ff. Miechke). LThK VI' * 4 +6 ff. Gregorovius Iffzg 636 ff. FïÏtZe z83 {. ditto -- +97 ff. siebi on the other hand for the coronation ceremoniell in Rome "no direction whatsoever".

ChfOUSt i* f ^7< - *4 MuSSato, A.W-7*. Kelly z3z ff. Gre- nOMä5z ir.""-i "i u , ", -47 r. 'i . Chroust id4 If, i yq If. x i i f. Thomas x io f.

Gregorovius** . 47- *ii - zq £rirztChroust i 3z If. *® - ^7i ff.

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z6 Mussato, A.W. g, 6 ff. Kelly z3¢. iq M u s s a t o , A . W . 57 f. Chroust4Da- GrrgoriusII/;t, 6.6 ff. Chrnust i 66 ff. I7 q If, i 86 ff. i g i ff. xz i f. Fritze z84

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Page q86- o i

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Lappen, R., Der schwangere Mann. Männer Frauen und die Maciii,

iq8 Ziegler;]., Zur religiösen Haltung der Gegenkaiser im 4. Jh. AD.,

iqyo Zimroerling, D., Der Deutsche Ritterorden, . A., iqqq

Zimmermann, H., Das Papsttum im Mittelalter Eine Papstgeschiehte im Spiegel det Historiograpie. With an index of popes from the ¢th to the i ¡th century. century, is8 r

Zóllne6 **W., Dic Ccsckichce** dar **Xreuzziigc, 6. A.,** 'y8p

Zollnct, R, Heinricft VI, z zso-z z 97, in: Engcl, EJHoT z E. (ed.), DcutscTtc ftonige und Kaicer des Mittelalters, rq8q

Zorpfl, F., Dos BisNm Augsburg and its Bishops in the Middle Ages, iqy

ABBREVIATIONS

of sources, scientific journals and reference works

Adhtrii. v. Chaban: Adhemar von Chabannes, Historia lauch Chronik genanntl

ADipl: Archiv für Diplomatik, Schrifrgeuhichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde, MünsterfKöln iq ff. lvorhec AU: iYtthiv iür Urkwndenlnrschong, rqo7!81

AHVN: finnalen des Historischen Verone for the Lower Rhine, Cologne 1855 ff.

AK: Archive for Cultural History, Berlin, Cologne, Graz and others i qo ff.

AMRhKG: Archiv für mirrelrheinisthe Kirchengeschichte, 5pcycr i q q ff.

Annal. **Marbac:** Annales Marbaccnsci

AnnaJ. Stud.: Anoales Stadenscs

Arnold Chron. Slavor: Arnold von Lübeck, Chronica Slavorum

Brunswick Reirnchr: ßraunschweigische Reimchronik, ed. L. Wciland. Unabridged reprint of the edition published in 77 by Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannoves, Munich ry8o

Caes. v. Heisterb. Dial. mirac: Csesariuȼ of Htisterbach, Diologus mirsculorum

Chron. Albr. mon.: Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium

Chron, reg. colon.: Chronica regia Calonimsis

Conc.: Council

Cron. Reinhardsbc: Cronica Reinhardsbrunnmsis

DA: Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters iq3 yff. lab Bd. 8: fiir Erforschung dts Mittelalters)

Ep.- Episro)ae

FMSt: Early mid-term studies, ref. lin 1967 ff.

Frrdeg. Dhronic: Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii libri quattuor

presta Innec: Gesta Innocentii papoc III

Gtsca Trevec: Gesta Treverorum (Dit deeds of the people of Trier)

€lft'.g. T11f- HiSL, Ft8flC.: **Gregor** vOn Tours, Historiarum libri X (Hist. FrancorumJ

H. v. Dieornh.: Heinrich vpn DieSeohofen, Hisrnria eccltsiastica nova

HEG: Haodbuch der Europfiischtn Geschichie, ed. Th. Schiedc5 Srutigart rq68 ff.

Heine Chron. Livon.: Henry of Latvia, Chronicon Livaniae

Helmet. Chron. Stav.: Helmold of Bo- ssu, Chronica Slavorum

Hist. albig: Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, Hysroria Albigensis

Hisi. World: History World Forum

Hjb: Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft, Müasrer, Munich, Freiburg i 88off.

HjLG: Hessisches Jabrbuch tür Landesgeschichte, Marburg i q i ff.

HKG: Handbook of Church History, ed. H. Jed'°. 7 vols., Freiburg im Bc 1961- 979

HZ: historical journal, Munich ' 8y9 f£.

Jac. de Vitry: Jakob de Vitry, see ZKG - 94' 97 -

JbBL: Jahrbuch fiir ßrandenburgiscbe Landesgcscliichte, Berlin i q 5o ff.

JbffL: Jahrbuch für fränkische Landes-forsChuflg, Er angclt II.8. I q3 y I .

JbKGV: Yearbook of the Cologne Geschichtsverein, Cologne rqr z-i qd i, i9 o ff.

JGMODtl: Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeuisrhlands, ed. W Berges, H. Herzfeld, H. Skriypczek, 8erlin iq 53 ff. { I9y x: Yearbook for the History of the German East, Tübingen)

JOB: Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik, Vienna i q6q ff. {i q5 i to i qfi8: Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen B7 zsncinische Gesells¢heft, ViennaJ

Luke: Gospel of Luke

LMA: Izikon dsMixsaer !1X, Munich/Zurich p8o-rgg8

Lod. Anon.: Lodeser Anonymus

LThK: Lexikon für Theologie und Kirch, i. Aufi. 1$30 ff 3. completely new ed. Ed. iqq3-who

Mf}bCK: MainfränkischesJahrbuch ftir History and art

MG: Monurxenta Germaniae historica, **1826 ff.**

MG Const.: Lcges.

Constitutionis MG Epp. {sel.):

Epistolae {seleciae) MG SS:

Scriprores

Mark: Gospel of Mark

M5c: Mediaeval Scandinavia, Odense i q68 If.

Mt: Matthause Gospel Nit.

Chen: Nicetas Choniates

Oliv. Hisr. Damiat.: Oliver von Paderborn, Historic Damiatina

Otto v. Frere: Otto von Freisiwg, Cesta

Grandma of St. Blas. Chron.: Otto ton Sankc Blasicn, Clironics

Ptt. Dusb. Chrnn: Petri de Dusburg, **Cbronica Terre Prussie**

Pet. v. ZinSu: Peter von Zil:tau, Chron. Chronica Aulae Regiae PL: J.-P. Migne, Patrologise curius com- plerus. Secies Latina

QFIAß: Quellen end Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliothe- ken, Rom i 8q8 ff.

RöHM: Roman Hisrnrian Mittti- Tuxgen, Grsz/Xöln ss-*+957 *!-

RQ: Römische Quartalschrifc für christ- liche Alteztumskunde und Kirchengc- schichte, Fzejburg 88y ff.

5äehs. Weltchc: Sächsische Weltchro- nik, ed. L. 9/eiland. Unchanged reprint of the z8yy edition published by Hahn- schen Buchhandlung, Hannoves, Munich peo

Salimb. Cron.: Salimbcnc of Pama, Cronica

Syn.: Synodt

Thom. Summa theol.: Thomas of Aqoin, Summa lheologiac

Wipe: Gcsta Chuonradi 11 imprratoris

ZA: Zritschrift {iir Archao]ogie, Berlin i q6y ff.

zAGV: Zcitschrifi des Aachener Ge- schichrsvereins, Aachen r 8yq ff.

ZBLG: 2eitmhriG füt bayerische Landesgcxchiehtc, Munich tqa8 ff-

ZKG: Zeitschrift für Kirchengescliichte, Goiha, Stuttgart i 8y6 ff.

ZKTh; Journal for Catholic Theology, Vienna ii.a . ®7 ^ 9 4 3 . 1947 '

ZOF: Journal for Research on Eastern Europe. Län- der und Völker im östlichen Mittel- europa, Marburg i g z ff.

2RG: Zeiechrifi for legal history,

Weimzr i 8öi-i8y8 (continued as Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte) with the derivations

ZRGGermAbc ZRG Germanische Abteilung, Weimar z88a ff.,

ZRGKanAbti ZRG Kanonistische AG division, Weimar iq i i ff.,

ZRGRomAbn ZRG Romanischt Abteilung, Weimar i 88o ff.

ZschG: Zeiuchrih für Schweizerische Geschichte, Ziirich i9t i- o lfortgcserzt as SchZG)

REGISTER

The following index includes all the names of persons contained in this volume 7, including fictitious, legendary or forged ones, **as well as** the names of all more or less fictitious or fictitious characters from old literary or other traditions.

As all the quotations were taken from the sources true to the letter, a number of names appear in various spellings of

To facilitate the search, in certain cases one and the same person has been included in the index with several name variants. Cross-references have been largely omitted to save the user any inconvenience.

First names, titles, ranks, family relationships and dates are added pragmatically, not systematically, *so* that the reader is not unnecessarily nscti-struck. As a rule, secondary characters are characterized in more detail than the well-known persons.

Created by dzs Register Hubert Mania, Braunschweig.

Aaron of Lincoln, rich man England's 4*4
Absslon l. of Lund, Archbishop +75
Absalon, Bishop toa RoskiTdeyo
Adalbert, Saint i 8j
Adtlaidt von Meilen, wife of Otoksr I. yi
Ademar of Le Puy, Bishop 88 Adolf 1st, Count of Altena, Archbishop from Cologne z9, 8, ö i, öq
Adolf II of Holstein, GFßf i . +7 -
Adolf von Nsscao, KÖrtiS 347. 365 to 37Ä4 9
Agidius, HeiIiJ+ +49
Agnes, Ganin Heinrichs von Braunschweig zy
Agnes, sister-in-law of @enzel ll. 6j
Agobard, Efzbishop zon LyO^ 4*T *-
Aimcry de Montcéal, Breder d-r Giraudc r$8
Aimon Von TarenfaiSe, ErZbi$Chof 6 l
al-Adil, Sultan aaz f.
Alanus sb Insulin (Alain de Lille or de Rysstl}, early holastic i 3 f
al-Ashraf zz
Alberich of Ostis, Cardinal Bishop i zi
Albetr **of Bekeshovede** (Bukshövden), Archbishop of Bram+75 . **177**
Atben of Capitaneis, papal * 44
Alberi of D8gsburg, Count 6z
Alben van Löwcn, Bishop xx f.
Albert of Meiüen, margrave xi
Albert **of Parma,** papal notary jzj
Albums by Rigu, BisCÄOÏ7- ^77- i 8o-i 83
Albert of San Vitale, Bishop of Parma x8 z

Albcrr, Count of Dagsburg ąn
ATbrechc 1st, son Rudolk l. von Habsburg, Duke of Austria **und Steyr 347, 363 f., 366, 368 f., 373, 451, 489**
Albrecht lV of Habsburg, Count, father of Rudolf I of Habsburg 3$ 2.
Albrecht von Magdtburg, Archbishop7®
Alexander dcc Gro88 +5' 99
Alexander 1ÏÏ., P-w **7+ 74 *S3. *7+ 440 f.
Alcaander IN, Pope, Neffc Gregory IX. y ø, I $o, ryr, z6y, ay, ' *6-3-8, 33-- '+9- 38t
Alexios MI. Angclos, Emperor of Byzantium I, 8, yż-p
Alexios IV Anglias, ByzanŁinic pretender to the throne pz f.
Alexios V Dumas Murtzupb]os, general, usurper and 6yzantine emperor q
Alexis f. Komnenas, Byzantine Emperor z z
Alfonso IX, King of León ie9 Alfonso VIII of Castile, King of Spain King **io8-i** to, d i z
AÌ£ons X of Casólia, Etd'cl Philippa of Swabia' 3I ' 38+
Alfonso, son of Ferdinando IM. of K "sfīlÍÍTn °97
Alfonso II of Arsgón .zoo
Alfonso VI, King of Castîlia 4 i i
Alice]Alix) of Montmorency, wife of Simon IV of Montfort ^54 aI-
Kamil, Malik, Sultan zzy, xsy, zjs f.
al-Malik a Säiii}, Sultan 3 i i
at-Mansus Almohadenkølif 3o
al-Muazzam zz5
al-Nasir, Mohammed, Emir io9 f.
Amalrich, King beforeı Zypcrn r,t
Amolo, Archbishop of Lyo° 4 *
Amyardus, 8official King Phiłipps ß. **Augustus 459**
Anaklct II, Gcgcn Pope of lnnozenz Œ. 88
Andrea from Longjumeau j I8
Andreas (Anderl) Oxner from Rînn ąz y
Andrew II, King non Hungary,7 y, **219**
Angelo, gi$chof of Fíesole y88
Artnibaldi, Richard, Yertrauter KarlS VO I Att)OU 3 57
Anselm of Lucca, Bishop z66
Antonios, rönticcher Kaisrr y
ApoJlonius, Saint 1
Aquila, Picri dî, Inquisitor ø6ş
Arbue5, Pedro, Inquisitor z6ą
Ainald of Cteaux, Legate and Bishop of Narbonne i i , i ş , i ş8
Amald-Almacich, pdpsilither Lcgat **150, 152**
Amaìd the]younger of Uissigheim, RinC° 43
Arnold II, Archbishop of Trier z88
Arnold com Klostcr Ballcnstcdc, Abbot +7<
Arnold vom Klostcr Nienburg, Abbot *7^
Aniold of Brescîs, heretic Iş§
nmold, K. i i x
Arnolfo di Cainbio 38 i
Arthur 1st, Count of Brittany, nephew of the English King John Ohnetand **425**
Ascelin, Dominican 3 th
Aspelt, Peter Enbishop of Maine 45
St. Augustine, St. Bishop rind Kirchtn- teacher z**. 44+. 4ï7
Atlgusms, Roman Emperor I y
Avitus I, Bishop of Clermont ą i4 f.
Azzo lI, Margrave of Es--3°9
Aznolino, son of King Manfred y 3q

Baibaq Egyptian sultan 353
Byzarite Emperor 1
to ioä
Balduin II, Byzantine Xaiser,
Waldtnseruz
**4- 333.
ofB "lduin IX, Craf of Flaxdem and
Htfinegau 8s. 97 .-
Balduin of Luxembourg, Archbishop
- Trier 4f- 4 f f -- 49 -
aalk, Hermann, tnndmeisyr*7
Bishop 6d flllesteros. 4<*Bemhardi
Barbarossa see Frederick I.
8ardi, Bankicr
Zghringenyg Baronius, Cardinal and Church Historian-Benhold von Hohcnburg, Mørkgraf
ker r 8
Bisileios, **monk** and physician i zq8rrrrhold
Baurugati, Ponrius, Franciscan
rualer z6jBcrihold
Burgundy, wife of KaistrBerthold
Frederick Barbarossä ^4
Beatrix, daughter of King Manfred33q
daughter of Phillip II
Swsben lgeaannt Elisabeth/
fiancée of Otios BV.; wife
of Ferdinand III- 75' 7 ' +°. -
8rhaim, Albert (Albcrtus Behemus) the
z4 2 f.
Btnedict XI, Popei *. 46d
8enedict XII, Pspst
Btnedict XIV, Pa St 4
Brnediki, Cardinal rol
Berard of Bart, Archbishop so6
Palermo, Archbishop
31b
Bèrard, Archbishop of LyO^ 4*^
Paloo, Bishop
Barcelona io8
Brreng;ar of Narbonne,
Bishopric Ministe- i3y
Berengarius, Cardinal 47®
Blanm of Castile, Saint and Mother 8rrard of
Blanche , sister of the French
Boemund
Bernard IV, Bishopr 5i
ßernurdusde Carvo, Cardin6 47*
Bernardus Frim,
3s3Bcmhard Vici-s de Scotis, Bishop
Parmaz8z
ßernhard of Clairvaux, Saint and
Church honor¥ , r^+' 7 . 74'
f---93- 39®. 4'8, 457
Bernhard of Sutri,
, >- +7+
Bcrnhart, Joseph ry
Brrthold V. von
3*4' 3
, Bishop of Bambcrg
Piri-3Sr
, Bishop of ÜxkÜ]I i y# Btatrix of
, Htrzog of Zfihrfn ^ 4
Brrto de Frescobaldi, banker q63
,Order in Wenden &atrix,
ofi78
of Metz, Bishop *69* Isabella),
Berirand de Got, Archbishop of
zBordeaux6z f.
Bcmand de la Tom Vicar General of
Fmnzisksnerordens4 80
Bcmand of Lomagoe, Vicointe ond
<- > *°° ^P^+ ^ °^^473
BertrAnd of Narbonne33ö
Bertrandus of Agen, Bishop47
3oivan Ludwfs lx. jo 30a, 3 I-{
ofKingS Philip N. the Fair i 7°
Blanke, f-rit 7
ArchbishopBodo of Ravensburg,
rialer 7
, Archbishop of Trier 3fiq

Brrenguela, heiress of Alfonso VIII of Castilieo ioqBohemund
Orlando di Rossi, rebel x8y
Bogumil, Macedonian priest i zj
I of Antioch, leaderFernando ducks Krtmogs 8s
Botognese, Frsnco, artist j8 i

Bonagrstia, Franciscan General 48o f.
8oniface IX, Pep5t 434
Banifaz VIO, Pope, nephew of Alexander IV. 270, 369, 371, 375 f., 378–383, 385 f., 389–393, 396, 399–402, q63 -- 473 -- 4 ' 493
Boniface of Montferrat, Count 8q, 102 2 .Q}
Oonizo of Sutri, Bishop z66
Boockmann, H. 198' 3 7
Boretli, Franz, Frs
nziskatu+44 8oril, bulgacisclier Tsar i
Borroniäuc, Karl, Holy Nette Pope Pius' IV. 142
Best, K. qx, roy
Bouge, Roberr le zy6
Biancaleone dii Andalo, Roman Senator 33c
Braulio of Zaragoza, Bishop do2
Brigitte of Sweden, Saint 3y6
Browe, Fr. ¢#q
Brun of Querfurt, martyr r83
Bruriisendt, Count of Périgord4 6y
Bruno III of Berg, Archbishop of Cologne *z9*
Bruno IV of Sayn, Archbishop 73 -
Burchard of Ursbtrg, Premortstratenserprobst 6+. 47
Burchard, Archbishop of Bremen iqz
Burkhard, Count of Oldenbuq ^94

Catsarius von Heisttrhach, Cistercian monk serprior I 3Q
Caetani, Benedctto, civil 1iame of Pope Boniface VIII. 328-38o, 3 4
Caetani, Bcnedikt, nephew of Pope Bonifaz VIII. 383
Caetani, Francesca, hfeffe of Pope Boniface vlil. 38d
Caetanj Jacopo, Bankitr 383, 488
Caetani, Roffredo, nephew con Pope Boniface Vl11. 38j

Caetann Orsini, Giovanni, biirgerlichtr
name of Pope Niknlaus Ill. 3
Cairtl, Eias, Troubadour 38
Calixt II, Papct zyj
Calvi, M8fizbsnkier 3*7
Cambin, nrnolfo di, Builder of
the
Crabmal of Pope Boniface VIII.
4 *
Cangrande I of Vtrona 4 s Capoccj
Giovanni, opponent of Pope
Innocent -4i
Cap cc'q johann e
Capc'cci, Reinex Cardinal z83, z85,
289 f., 296, 321
Copuano, Prte6 Cardinalltgac r8,
88 f.
CareJta, Thomas,7tcha) éet
römischezt
lnquisitiC'LI **4 !-
Carino da Balsamo, **Peter'**s murderer
from Verona zy6
Carl Ono Heinrich, son of Emperor
Frederick 11th Aoi, j zz
Cavalcanti, nldobraadino Maneni
de', Magister dts Canon Law 3'7
Chambcrlin, E. R. 38s f.
Chsndtin, wife of Rsbbi Joseph 4i*
Cha*dai, Rabbi 4 ^4
Chilperich, French king q i
Chlotar U., French Kö-'& 4+ i
Choniates, Niketas, Byzantine
Writer i , 9q, i oo Christian,
Bishop of Prussia i 8$ Clari,
Robert de, Chrpni9t 9';r, yp
Cltmens III, Pope *i S I-' 4 s* j i,
i7j Cltmens IV, Pope zö7, z7ö,
334 343' 349 - 3 f7- 4*3
CemeosV "Paps
***66,qp,4d,$6*,**
4*3-4*'ï- 4*7!'- 473-475- 477
Clentens YǏ4., !'-p*' 4 *
Clemens, Saint i 5y
Cltmtns, Kctzer from Soissons i zo
Closene$ Friefiche, Scra0burger

Gorlestin III, Pope i i, i a-zo, xz, 3o bis 32, 34 f., 39–41, 45, 51, 54, 167, 173 f.
Coclesiin V., **Pàpst 3*** ' 375-377–381, 386, 401, 495
Golomia, Giacomo, Cardinal 38 y
Golonna, Giovanni, Cardinal z8x
Golonna, Jphann, Cardinal z3q, zoo
Colonna, Pietro. Cardinal j8 , 88
Colonna, Sciara, conspirator against Pope Boniface VIII. qOi, q 3
Colonna, Stefano, Ràuber des pàpstlichen Schanes 38 && - '*> 375
Conti, Jakob, Vencr von Papst

Gonri, Johann, representative of Pope Innocent III. z
Gonti, Riccardo, Count, brother of Pope lnnozenn lll. 5 i f.
Corbeill, Pierre de, Doctor of the Church by Courson, Robtrt de, Cardinal zi4, zx3
Crouchhack, Edmund, Earl of Lancester z -7. 3 z-
CulÎcait' - 4°7

Dagobtri I, son of Chlotra lt. i
Dandolo, Enrica, Venetian Doge 90 f., 95, 231
Dandolo, Renier, son of Enrito Dandnlo 9o
Daridolo, Vitale, Commander of the sleeping fleet 9o
Dant*AGghieñ ,378,38i,j9o, 394, 452, 454, 463, 464, 480, 494
Dsvi&ohn, R. j 8 i
Délicieux, Bcrnhatd, Franciscan 269, 445
Demande, K.E. 8
Diana, Antonius, Consolator of the Sicilian Inquisition t66
Diego of Azevedo, Bi8chol l'on Osr "s z$ 8
Dicpold son 5<hweinspeunt, captain 57- * 3
Diethelm von Konsianz, Bishop 6z, 6p
Diewich von U'r¢cht, Bishop to, 6p
Dietrich, brother of Margrave Albert of Steigen z Döllinges I. of i j6
Domingo dc Guzman (Dominic) Saint and founder of the Dominican Order t 3 z, 38, 16a, zy9
Donin, Ludwig to
Dotso, Konrad, **Dominikancr zy6 to** ty 8, t76
Genghis Khzn {Temiïjin) y i6, 3 i 8,

Duèsr, Jacques, birth name of Pope John XXI1. 3y
Durandus vos Hucsca, Waldtnstr uz f.
Dusburg, Percr von, chronicler z zo, *7 18$ /.- +*7- 9 - *+3

Eban, Abba 44*
Eberhard II son Salzburg, Archbishop 69
Eberhard von Merstburg, Bishop zi
Ebrardus de Barris {Borres), Graßmei- - srcr of the Knights Templar q q
Edmund, son of the English king Henry III 3^4 33 ^. 333 Edward ï., English king js-- 4*7' 444' 4*7
Edward, Earl of Warwick coq
Êg#ItO YOn Ursch, Gra* 77 Egico, Spanish king toy Egidius von Wsrnsbetg, abbot of Xeiücnburg in E)saü gjj Ehl-'s- J- -him z-s, ' zo, "s Bkbert, Bishop of Bamberg, Court Chancellor OrtOs –› a2O Elazaç cigcntlich Bodo, zurn]udentum konvettiert franc Adliger qt6

Eleanors of Montfort, Count of Vendôme zyz
Elizabeth 1st, Queen of England zq8
Elizabeth of Frankrtich, $ister from LudWİg I>- 3 7
Elisabeth von Thürînge-. *-'!'g^ 77-zzo, z/6
Elisabeth, Gaxin of the German Emperor Konrad IV. jz
Elisabeth, Duke Robert's sister II. from Burgundy j 6
Emmcrich, King non Unga+- 7-
Emma von air -w'crum, Abbot I§5
Engclbert von ßerg, Archbishop von Cologne zq
Enrique II. Trast*mara, King of KastiÏ °^ 41 2' Ë.
Enzo, King of Sardinîen, son of Emperor FriedFİch II A§O ^9 7' 3°°.
351
Eon of Sttlta, Xetzcr i zi
Ephraim brn Jakob dzy
Erbstöficq M. i zq
Erich IV (Erik Menved), King of Denmark 3 y3
Ervig, Spsnian king o8 f.
Eskil, Blessed, Archbishop of Lund 7º
Esre of Ferrara, opponent of Papxt John XXII ø89
Etienne, Beithtvacer of Queen Consianzc *on Arles i i 8
Eugene III, Pope 88, i z i
Eustathios, Bishop of Byzantium io3 Evermod, Htiliger I zo
Eymerich, Nicolas, Gentrslinquisitor füt Aragonîen z6ą f.
Ezekiel, Prophet 4-7
Ezzelino III da Romano, leader of Ghibeltria j zy

Fabianus, Inquisitor -7* Ftrdinsnd
III. leI Santo}, King of Castile and León r re, zq7, 3ą i
Ferdinand of Montarzgón, Abbot io8
Ferrtolus of Uzčs, Bishop ą i ø Fieschi,
Otiobunno, Cardinal, Nelfe YQrt PapSt IfifiTzeriz IV z 8 z' 3 z4
Fieschi, Sinibaldo, Count of Latagna, later Pope Innoaenz N. z8 z
Fieschi, Wilhelm, Pope's nephew and Cardinal 3s5
Figutira, Guilhem I38
Fink, Karl AuguSt 3 y5
Fœrste§ E i 4°3
Fontana, Philipp, papal legate 290
Foulques, Guy Guido Fulcodi}, jurist, later Pope Clement IV. j 3ş
Fournier, Jacques, Cardinal ąqq
Frangipane, Petrux, pspstfeindticher Aufrùhrer tąş
St. Francis of Assisi, HeiÍiger i 3 i , iI 8, *#S'*77 *]'*9°'479
Fænisku,pÄpsthntnquisitœ +4 -' +44
Frescobaldi, ßerto de', Banker d6j
Frescobaldi, Giovanni de', Oomherr in Florenz 463
Frederick the Fair of Osierreicb, cousin of the Bavarian Duke Louis IV. 481–483
Frederick 1 (Barbarossa), German Emperor r f., 3ş, 67 7 - 9°. 3Si 203, 241, 253, 342
Frederick 1st, Markgrcİ of Mei8en and Ł a n d g r s f van Thürîngen j şp
Frederick II, son of Htîarich VI, Roman-German king and emperor King of Jerusalem xq f., j 8 f., f4, f6 I-, şq' öö, öq, 77, i8ą, i 86, i9 , i q7-i°s- top-zi i, 213 f., 216, 226–230, 232–235, 238–241, 243–249, 254, 259, 262, 279, 282–286, 290, 293–302, 305, 310, 317, 326, 329, 351 f., 359, 375, 443, 445

Frederick II, Somar of Ktinig Peter II of
Aragón 39 I f.
Frederick III of Arzgón, King of
Sicilyqj , 3qy, jqy
Frederick m. of Obcrlothringen, Her-
zng; cousin of Emperor Frederick Il.
zoe
Frederick IV voe Nüm1'rrg, Burgrave
$86
Frederick V of Swabia, Hcmog;
brother of Henry VI. j
Frederick of Õustria, Duke y8 Frederick
of Sulzburg, Archbishop
q85
Frederick of Thiiringen j6a
Frederick, brother of Henry Vl. ii
Frederick, son of King Manfred 33q
Fuhrmann, H. i 5, 38
Fulgcntius of €cija,
Bi
shopo6 Fulko {Foulques} of
Marsti]lt,
Bishop of Toulouse i 38 f.
Fulko von Neu' r. ßprediger 8g

Galtazzo I Visoona, son of Matteo
I. Vicconti §pof. Galerannus,
Tecricus, k6niglichcr
K8pcllan 4 9
Gsndulfo of San Sisto {Piacenza), Abr

Gantelemi, Vicar of Charles of Anjou
336
Garcia Ramirez, King of Navarre
4 *
Gamier of Troyes, Bishop qö
Gatiermann, Cüiuer ay, 6s Gcbuin
II, Bishop of Chalons-sur-
Marne i i 8
Geoffrey de Chamey, Grand Master of
the Tempterordtris q68
Genrg, Hti iger 'i'
Gerald voo Valence, Jtrusalemcr
Patriarcli zy6

Gcrhard II, Enbishop of Bremen i
9if.
Gcrhard of Abbcville, world clergyman
Grrhard of Borgo San Oonnino, 330
Franciscan x63
Gerhard von Oldenburg, Archbishop
of ßremen iqz
Gerhard von Schwanburg, Bishop of
Würzburg 447
Gertrud von Andechs-Meranicn,
Wife of the Hungarian King Andreas
JI. zzo
Gerung, Bishop of Meí&ri i6q f.
Gervsrios of Tilbury q
Gherardo of Flocent, a former
Heretic -7-
Ghirlandus, Paul, KRIiOHÍ6t *73
Gizcinto(Hyacinthus) Bnbone,
Gebum-
name of mpst Coelestine III +7
Giorto di Bondone, itslienis painter
38 i
Giovanna dell' Aquila, heiress of the
Fondi gcafshah j83
Giovanni Pipino da Batlerta, Güristling
ar" nw liianisckm Hal 384*-
Giraude, Casiellan of Montreal zy8
Glabcq Radulf i i8
Goffredo da Castiglione, after Pope
Coelestine IV. z8 i
Gottfried III, Duke of Leuven-
Brabant 22
Confried von Villehardouin, Kreut-
zuguhronist 8q
Gottfried of Viterbo, spiritual tutor
to Henry VI ft
CreBor t. -the Gre¢tess-, Pope §§of.
Gr¢gor tY., Pope ttj
Grcgor lX, Pope, nephew of Pope In-
noaenz Ilí. Jz, i ii, iy i, i67, i 8$f.,
I g7- 93' +97' ^zxf., z3 r-t3 , z38,
^43-^49 ^14 ' <i7-^59' ^ 3' *7^'

273, 277, 282, 284, 287, 308, 317, 330, 382, 411, 421, 440 f.
Crcgor VII, Pope ¢ 6 , 63, i o7, z38, 37 5' 4 IO f.
Gregory of Monrelnngo, Popelcgat x4a, sql
Gregory of Santa Maria, Cardinal y i
Gregory of Tours d r *S- q z9*
Gregory X, PRQs' 349 -. 3$3. 354' 3 I
Gregory Xl, Pope 74.iss
Gregnr XMI, Pope zq8
Grcgorovius, Ftrdio "nd 47' 75' °35' **305, 332, 335, 376, 384, 455, 472,** 49'- 49i
Grey, John de, Bishop of Norwich a io
Griguleviß, J. R. i zy
Grundmann, H. i zz
Guarinoni, Hippolyr, Haller Siihsarzt 4 +9
Gui de Beaulieu, Bishop of Auxerre *316 I.*
Guido Tartari of Areno, Bi
shopqi Cuido of Montefeltro, Count 3So, 3qo Guido of Montfort, Siatthaltcr of the Tuscany 3¢¢
Guido of Palestrina, Cardinal Bishop *i i 3*
Guido von Prängste, Cardinal Leg8t d , yz
Guido of Thusis, Inquisitor of the RomR&^ ^7°
Guidonis, Bernhard, lnquisitor typ, **264, 269, 475**
Guilhem of Paris, Archabbot i 56
Guillaume de &aujeu, Grand Master of the Order of the Knights Templar 4*7
Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, confessor to Louis IX's Gawin 3o8
Guillemairi, Bernard q9, i i 3, i 3i Guillermus of Paris, Bishop
Gunther von Pairis, chronicler q8
Gunzelin von Wolfenbüttel, Imperial 47 Guncelin, Burgrave i7
Günther von Käfemburg, Count 7

+°74 ' ZOG
Guta, daughter of Rudolf I of Habsburg, wife of Wenceslaus II j63. l7^ -
Güterbock, Ferdinand yö
Cuy lGuidnnis), 8ernhard, Dominican inquisitor in
Guy, abbot of the monastery of Vaiix-dr-Gernay; bishop of Carcassonne i 6o
Güyük, Gro0khan 3 iq

Hadrian V, Pope; nephew of Pope Innocent IV. z8z f., 3zp, 3z6, 3y4
Hagenbach, K. R. I i 3. +7°
Halduin, Bi5Chof von Limog¢s 4+7
Halleq Johannes y i, zi y, alg, z8fi, fi9fi' 319' 347- 44 * 4*3
Narcmu' von Grumbach, Deutschor-densmcister 'po
Hartwig II of Hamburg-Bremen, Enbishop i - 7°' +73' 75' 9
Hauck, Albtrt i i, 3 y, jy, q6, 66,7*› 75, 222, 254, 350
Hehl, E.-D. qi
Heiniuh, K.j. zq8
Henry -el Scnador -, son of King Ferdinand II of Kxstilien-Leön 3q i
Henry the Lion, Htrzeg of Saxony and Beyem rq, z5, i?i f.
Henry 1st, Bishop of Breslau -77
Henry I, German King i 6q Henry lI, the Pious, of Lower Silesia i 7. 3ss Henry II of Chur3 x, zoq Henry II of Isny, Archbishop of Mainz jfiy
Henry II of Vlrneburg, Archbishop from Cologne 58 3
Henry III of Vimeburg, Enbishop Henry von Mainz 498, 500
III, German Emperor i iq

Henry III, English king z 3, 3 i 3*3 -' 3^7 f., 33^' 4 x6
Heinritfi VI, john Fritdrich f. 8nrba- rmsas, German Emperor King of Sicily i i, i **l-CO, 2.2.-30, 3z,** 4*- 45 -. I3-i'. i . '4.66., Clsirvaux 78, qz, zz6, xq¡, z q, 3° i, 4 f4ivy
Henry VII, German Ksisc6 sonHerd0 Friedrichs U. zoë f., *4**-."-. 4S4-'457- t®5' 4 7' 4 9Z
Henry VII, Sobn of the Craten of Luxembourg and La Lundgraf, q $ i-53
Henry of Brabant, Hcrzog iq 5,
Henry of Brsunschwtig, Henry the Lion
Heinrich von Die0enhofwi, thurgaui chronicler3z
Finsringea, Archbishop 34s f.
Htinrich von Fiilda, Abbot 4y
Heinrich von Këfernburg, Grd* 7®°s
Hcinrich von Kalden, Imperial Marshal 33' 3 5 7^'
Heinrich von Laueanne, anticlerical z i,33
Heinricli von Lettlend, History scribe i2
Htinrich of Moravia, Margrave2x
Hcinrich of Marcy, Cistercian Abbot i j yHoltzmann
Htinrich of Niedtrbaye 49s
Heinrich von Raizeburg, Count von Ravensburg, Bisturnsmi- nisterial 7-
Henry of Tries Archbishop 3d9
Heintich von Waldburg, Truchse8 7*Hubatsrh
Htinrich, Bishop ton Straflburg - 4i
Heinrich, Saint
Heinrich, papal inquisit-° *44
475 Heiririch, Count Palatineber Rhein, brother von der OtioS N.
eldestHerman II Hummel of Lichienbtrg,son of ^i 447
Hermann von Müncter, Bishop 6q
Hermans von Salza, Hechrneister ofHeinrich von Ordeni8 f., ii , zoo, z46
iHeraunn of Thuringia, Landgrave
Hermsnn zur Lippe, Count iq z 75Herodes z86
,L, lO+. 349' 3 ° Mönch i Heisel, A.jyz
Hirler, AdOIf tor, I ï 3t 43 ^' 434 , met of r r , r3 y.
q5, z55, s6q, 47f
, Johannes io8 , R. xi
Honori9s I, Pope god
Heinricb 85, z i J-z i g , zzz, zi¢, zx6 f., -i- . *48, §3
Honorius IV, Pope 7y, x47
, Welther i8x
HugO de Payens {dt Paganis), *k "nzösi-* xoscher Riner 4sz
HUgO fflrdi voa Cohors, Bishop° Hugovon Lusigriao, Count S- 73' * *- 433
Ä/Ïirch 308

Henry, son of King Mznfred 3 j9Hugo of Montfort, Count y7

Hugh of Ostia, cardinal bishop, vetier of Pope Innocent III. ^' i- ^^7- °3
Hugh of Petiaponti lPittrepons), Bishop of Liège 7
Hugo, HeiliØer Two
Huguccio of Pisa, Dekrctis' 45

lbs Abbad, Amir za8
Ibn Anil, Arabic Hisioriket 3 i2
Imbert, Guillaume, frsnzõsisclier Inquisitor ą 6 i , ą68
Innonzenz II, PăJt 4T7
Innocence\lt.-^-P*+ 4+. 4fi' 45-J3- şS *-. *3-65' 6®!-- 74- 77-* - 7 - 9 !-' pj, p8, roy-zoş, zo7-y zo, z z j-II ş, +7' 39!- *35- 37- 4 +43' *4* to **Iąg,** Eşy**, I6r,** z6y, róp, z 74 f., I8 ø f" 18 j, ¥ yø, r'P7s ¥ yp-zoz, zo f., zo8, ż zł z17, zzj, żj z, zg8, *ă4' **0- *7*- *73- 3-- 3S5- 375' 3--- 3 S- 4-3. 4- - tt3
Innozcnz IV, Pope i 8ş, zzö, a6z, zsy, z2q, z8ş f., x87-zq i, tq6-3oo, jo3,) b 3 9S'5*4f.3,*7S' i&,)*4 bid 3Aót }3*- 354' 44 44*
Innocent V, Pope 3tó, 3 j-{
Innocent Vl, Pope 4zy
Inno2tnZ XÏII, PapSr $ x, 1d5 f.
Irene, Byzantine emperor's daughter nod Gartin Philippe von Schwabcn j8, şy, 66 f., 93
Isaac Jl. Angelos, Byzantine ICxiscr **16, 92 f.**
Isabella II of Brienne, heir to the King of Jerusalem ixq, z3i, 39z
Isabella of England, wife of Kaixer **Friedrichs II. 243, 322**
lsidorvons üfla,E'z6iacfioí ąo6f.

Jacob Twinges von Könlgshofen, chronicler ąsy
Jacobus of Saint Andrtw, Bishop 47
Jacopone da Todi, poet j86 3øknb
1st, king of Atagón 3z6, 3yo jakob Il. the Gerechie, son of king Peter III of Aragon 3q I, 3g3, **458, 467**
Jacob of Cahors, Priesttr ąq r, ąqą, 497
Jakob von Palestrina, Cardinal Legate **244, 282**
Jakob von Vitry, preacher of the cross and historian z i 8, xxs
James, Archdeacon of Liège i 8
James, Htiłigrr 98
Jacques de Molay, Grand Duke of the Temp1erordeh- 4^7 !-
Jean de Braiselve, Marshal Charles of ftjQtt 3 3 Ą § Ą I
Jean dc Chătillon, Bishop of Saint-Malo i zi
Jean de Joinville, Stnesrhall of Champagne j ro
Jcsaia, Prophet '-7 Joachim of Fiore, Abbot 36
John 1st of Brsbsnt, Duke ą 5 5 John I of Trifi; Archbishop, Court clerk to Emperor Henry VI q f., 6q
John IV, Bischolvon Ritti øq
Johann Ohnelønd **(John** Lackland), King of England, 8rudcr of **Richard I. Löwenherz 48, 64,** i d6 f., zoy, zo9-zi z, qty
John of ßrienne, titular king of Jerusalem, Latin emperor of Constanrinopcl øy7s aaj f., amp, z3 , z3$
John of Embrun, Archbishop up John of Gravina, Ptinz of Naples

St. John of Parma, Franciscangane- **ral 356**

John of Procida, Ant of the Archbishop of Procida
schofs Berard zon Palermo jo z
Johana von Schwenkenfeld, Inquisitor **of the diocese of Bttslau** *7*
Johano von YikCfing, Cistercian 4®* *-' S
Johann von Winterthu5 Franciscan 479' 4 4
John XXI, Psp$* 354
Johann XXII., Papst 264, 474–481, 484, 486 f., 489, 492, 494, 496 f., qqq
johann XXiI, pope t, t7z, 49z johann, abr of Colambo tt
johann, bishop of S¢ns 6g johann, count of Ciravinä §5 j johann, cardinal of Salerno 3z johann, king of %hmen, son Heinriciis VH. d j i, y6, ¢8 y f., 500
Joan of Austria, Duchess Aoi
Joan of Ponthieu and Monireuil, second wife of Ferdinand III io
Joan, wife of William II, daughter of King Henry of England i j, ^4
John Chrysostom, Doctrine of the Church
100, 405
John III Duk "s Vatarzes of Nicüa, Emperor, son-in-law of Frederick II i q8
John of Dol, Bishop 47 johannes of Plaao Carpini ji8-3AO John, Saint q8
Yomtov, Rabbi z
Jordan, Count, presumed lover of Empress Konstante 36
Joseph, patriarch and confessor of the Byz "ntiriix Emperor Michael VIII. 3 3
Joseph, Rab*' 43
Juan I, King of Spain i 3
Juliana, Queen of Spain q i z Justinian qz

Kantorowicz, Ernst H. +. +4- 37a 49. 66, zi 6, xyq, z8q, cq 5
Karl der GfO8c 9s. ^*9. +7^
Ksrl 1st of Anjou, brother of Louis {IXth) the Holy, King of Albania o5, 3o8, 3x), 3 jr, 3n-JS*. J' f. i '-i'4. J -. 3} f., 3 f 7 3 °' ä 5' 37 i 39 393
Charles II, King of NespC 377 -. 3qi f.
Charles lV, German Kaffl°+ 437-441 Charles of Calabria, Duke qr
Charles of Salerno, son and heir of Charles 1, of Anjou 36o
Charles of Valois, Count of Anjou 39j up to 3qi. 's -
Charles, son of King Robert of Naples 49a
Ksihnrioe **of** Courtenay, **heiress** of the Latin EmpireH 3$2
Keller, Hagtn i
Xel!r- john zj, zz6, z8z Kisch, G. 443
Knöpfieq Alois io6 f., i i 5
Knud V., King zr
Cook, Waİter joy
-King Armleder- ¢3 i f.
-King Rindfleisch - jo,3z
Konrad 1st of Querfurt, Chancellor Henry VI, Bishop of Hildesheim and Wünburg z3, z8, 32.f., 7° i 1 8
Konrad 1st von Schadenberg, Bishop from Spcyer 7^* 7®. --7
Conrad t., Duke of Mazovia 7' ^ 4 -
Conrad IV, son and successor to the throne of Frederick 11th, deurscter emperor and king z8;r, x8q, xq z f" 3oo to

3°*. i - f ., 3 4. 3x7, 3'°. 3$-

Konrad 'von Hochstsd "n, Archbishop of Kom z88, aqi, 36i
Konrad you Krosigk, Bishop of Halberstadt rur
Konrad von Msrburg, lnquisitor z55 f., zJ8, z7 i f" zy6, zqo
Konrad von Mcgenbrrg, theologian **436**
Konrad von Porto, Count of Upach, **Kardinal 217, 230**
Konrad von Sumerau 362, 364
Konrad von Urslingen, Duke of **Spoleto 27, 51, 54**
Konrad von Wittelsbacb, Archbishop from **Maini** 3z
Konrad, BiSchpf von HolbenrodC 7
Konrad, Bishop of Konsanz xo6 Konr "d, Bishop of Stra0burg 5 i Konrad, Archbishop of Mainz sy,

Konrad, Archbishop of Sabburg 373
Konrad, half-brother of Konradin, unchclicher son of Emperor Koivad ' 344
Conrad, **Heriog** of Rothenburg, brother of Henry VI. y
Konzad, Count Palatine bci khein zy
Kanradin, son of the German Xeiscrs Conrad IV $*4' 3*7' 3*9 333-jtof., jj-, jy8 f.
Konstarizc of Altavilla, daughter of Xonig Rogcr II of Sicily, wife of Henry VI, Queen of Sicily i 3 f.' i6, i q, s5-zy, sq, 35, J-56, 3oi
Konstanze, King Manfrcd's heiress 3 9
Constance, Queen you Arłes I I8
Constance, daughter of Kanigi nifonso of kragón, confused Queen of Ungam, Gatiin of Frederick 11. 7+i 3i ^^f
Kosmas, Saint q8
Kosinss, preacher against the bogo **milentum 124**
Xzgmer-Badoni, Rudolf §kd, t34' 444
Kietschinayg Heinrich qp, q3, q6, ' 5- 33 - 4 S4
Kiihneą I-łans jx-. 375
Kupisch, Karl 305, 426
Cyril, Doctrine of the Church o5

Ladislaus IV., König von Ungarn 362
Lancia, Galvano, Count 344
Łaogion, Stephen, Bishop you **Canterbury 210 f.**
LaurenŃus, Saint $8
Lsz, Hong Charl4S z*®s**7' *69' ą71
Lecky, William E. H. my i
Leo I, holy pope and church leader Leo **123**
fl, king of Cilicia-Atmenia

Leo X., Papst 399
Leo XIII., Papst 443
Lcopold V, fisterrcich duke; imprisoned Kooig Richard Lowen- herz zą f.
Leopold VI, Duke you Osrerreich ziq, 3Si, q83 f., 486
Leupold I of Griindtach, Bishop Lcutard, H rctician from Champagne i i 8
Lliotsky, A. Maa
Lindweg Am-°^ 4°3
Little Hugh of Lincoln, martyred martyr iq
Lmwenich, Seither von 4
Looshorn, J. yaf.
Lnrtn, Joseph jy6
Lothar von Hochstaden, Bishop of Leuven a3
Lothar von Siippfingonburg, dcurscher ' * ^7+
L<ithsrio de Scgni, birth name of Pope lnnozenz III. 4 fi-47

Lübeck, Arnold, Abȼ +7-
Lucius Ill., Fapst x 3 , i4 i f., zy3, z7 i
Liickerath r 8
Ludolf of Magdtburg,

Archbishop9 Ludwig of Forrlme 355' 4
Louis II, the Strict-, Duke of Bayem z-i. 3°4. 34°t 47^. 38 i
Louis II, Count Palatine of the Rhine
3äé Louis IV, Duke of Bavaria, later German Kainrq , q ö, qy i, t'--4-3. 486 f., *49 -+9*- +99-s-*
Louis IX (Louis the Saint), **französischer König 221, 250, 259, 271, 272, 290, 300, 303, 307 f., 311, 313–315, 331, 333,** $ fi' fi97' 4*+' 4**
Louis VI, French X king 9z
Louis V11, King of France 417, **459**
Louis VIII, French Tlironfot-ger zo7, zzo, z16, joy Ludwig von Blois, Goal 8$
Louis X (Louis Hutin), Frenchman King 4**
Louis, archbishop of Lyon. Son of the **Karl von Anjou 378**
Lupold von Woms, Bishop 63
Lutold, Bishop of Basel 4o f.

Makrizi, "rsbian historian j z i f., 3+4
Malabranca, Latina, Dckan of the Holy Knllegium j2y
Mariegold von Neuenburg, Bishop of Würxburg 43a
ktanfred, unhclicltcc son of ?riedrich If., German king joo f., j z , y zy, **327–329, 331, 333, 336–339, 359**
Marchia, Franciscus de, Franziskaner t8o
f Iargcrc'c of Babcnberg, wife of Otokac n. j6 , tyy
Margarete, wife of LudWfg IX- 3°7
Macgarethe, wife and cousin of King Heintich VII, y
Margarita, archpirate and admiral Tankreds of Lecce i q, l6
Margherita, daughter of Count Aldobrandio Rosso 83
Mana,Queen (-TzubroVeGz8e-l 77
Mene of Brabant, falsely beheaded Frsu of the Baytrnheriog LUdW*g ÏÏ. 34°
Markus, Msiliinder Kathartrbiuhof **129**
Markward von Annweilei, Rnich-struchseB t6, j 5, q6, r, 6 f.
Marsilius of Padua, political theorist qq31., yOo
Martin N., Papct jy f., 3 7 f., 36o, 377
Martin, Cistercian abbot from denn Elsa,fi *o*
Msnine&,Erz6isc8oCton6tt' 4°). **413**
Marzeilin of Arezzo, Bishop zq f.
Matilda, wife of Henry the Lion *eo*
Maweo d'Acquasparta, Cardinal Bishop jqq
Matteo I Viscoriii, Reictsvicar of Lombardy89 f.
Matthias von Fleuenbur
gqq Matthias, Metrnpolit of Mainz
ȼ q 8 Maulrasch, Margarete, heiress of the County Tyrol 5oo
Mayer, Hans EbcrhaCd 87' 98. *'4- **222, 310**
Vechchild, mother of Louis IV, Duke of Bavaria q8i
Meinhard II, Count of Gorizia and Pool, stepfather of Conradlrl 34°
Meinhard, Bishop of Ü<u+73
Menghini, Thomas, Dominican Qui Sitor 168

Menzel, Wolp ss9. -}8z Michael VIII Palaiologos, Byzantini-
ksiser toe, jyy, jyq Michael von Cesma, Franciscan friar
^^^^! 4®^
Milo, Papal Lcgat z p Monøchus, Johannes (Jean Lemoine J
4∞
Morosini, Tomøs , Archbishop io3 f.
Moses xxo
Mozzi, Andrea dt', Bishop 3 7
Mozii, Tomaso dß*, Banker i ®7
Muhammad I, Nasride i i i
Miìllcç John of 3 y Mucsatto, Albtrtino, Pràhumanist
4 9' 49*' 494' 49
Mussolini, Beníro 3 a

Nebridius of Narbonne, Metropolis in France 4 ^'
Neithart of Reuenihál ^^ 9
Nero, Roman Emperor z86
Nicholas III, Pope 3f fj f7, jqo
Nicholas IV, Pap-' *76, 6ą, 6y, **377, 391, 443**
Nicholas V, PaP*+ 49J-49
Nicholas, leader of a German Child crusade-- *4
Nikolatis, BİxhoF of 5ølerno z6
Nikolsus, CardÎnalbisckof of Osria, later Pope Benedict XI. 37*
Nino de la Guardia, vermeîntlicĬier Mîtrtyrer ą p
Nivclon of Soissons, Bishop 9s Noah 47*
Nogaret, Guillaume de, Royal Councillor
40D-ą0* 46 z, ąd9
Norbert, Saint i xo
Nubîli, Leonardo and Piero de', monks t6j

Odcn*ofGubbio,Künsde*)8*
Odo of Nevers, Count z iq
Odo of TuscuiØ ty Legs* 44* Ogödei, son and descendant of the Genghis Khan 3 i6
Oliveç Cologne cathedral scholaster and preacher of the cross s i8, see f.
Olivi, Petrus Johannis, Spiritual Director x63' 4 ^
Oltigoyen, Pedro, Spanish Francis °°*° 4+ 3
Orsini, Jnrdan, brother of Pope Nicholas III, Cardinal
Orsini, Matieo Rosso, brother of Papsc Nicholas III, Roman senator and cardinal i8 I, 3$}
Orsini, Napoleane, Kardinãl 4 Orokar I. Pfemysl von 8öiimtn7 1,7 j Oiokar Il., Pfemysl von Böhmen und Duke of Õustria 36 i-3fid Orio Candidus of St. Nicholas, Cardinal x38, z z
Ono the Child, grandson of Henry the Lion, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg zq3
Ono 1st, German Emperor i S9, I7^. **355**
Otto 1st, son of Frederick Barbarossa, PÍslzgraf of Burgundy z, o f.
Otro lI. of Bayem, Htrzog t4 8, you
Otto II. voø Wolfskehl, Bishop of Wüttburg 446f.
Otro III, Duke of Lower Bavaria **482**
Otro IV, of Brunswick, dcurian king and emperor, son of Henry the Lion y3, ş8, 6Ø-*3 9' 7<. **74, 78–80, 93, 195, 199–204, 209 f., 212 f., 254, 262, 352**
Otto of Lüneburg, nephew of Otto IV i38
Otto of Merania, Duke y6
Otto von St. Blasien, chronicler i 8, zd f., jj, j6, $*-7^- 77- 9*
O'ro of St. hfikolaus, Cardinal z8c

Otto von Wittelshach, Count Palatine of 7^ 75
Otto, Bishop of Freieing iq $ Ottokaz, chronicler y£q

Pagano, Florentine thorny probst 388 Pallavicini, Ubcrto, Mar
kgrafzq Palmieri, Pasqualn 38d
Pandulf of Anagni, chaplain to Pope Gregory lX zjq
Pantalúon, Jacques, formerly Pope **Urban IV. 331**
PGrapone, SCOttuS (eflatof) $q 8' ®'^^ 4°3
Pasclialis II, Pope 88, 38q Pascoli, Giovanni, lyric poet j 5i Paramos, bishop 36
. Paul, St. A -t'49. **9
Para, Anron, tnquisitor z76
Pelagius of Albano, Cardinal io6
Pclagius, Alverus (Alma Pelayo), Bishop of SiJvez zyy Pelagius, Cardinal zzj-ca6, z a,

Pelajo, Alavartz, Ponitentiary of Pope John XX - 477
Pelisso, Guillelmo, Dominican inquisitot ^ 5 f
Pernoud, R. zzj
Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny 4'7
Peter I of Custilia t h e
Peter II. von Aragón, spanischer König {fl Caálico) *o8,Iq ,s4Ç* g, io3,i
Ftttr III, -el Gran-, King of Aragón, King of Sicily 3 j7, j6o, 8g, jyr
Ptttr von Cadre;rta, Inquisitor -7*
Pemr voa Luna, Xw&n<>a4 Peter von Mainz, Embimhof 4®4
Peter von Ruffia, Inquisitor von @iCr¥lOrtt *7
Peter of Vtrona lPctrus MsrtyrJ, patron of the Spanish Inqui°ition *76
Percr von Zitmu, Ctschictitsschreiber **431, 486**
Petrarca 476
Petrus de Vinca, counselor to Fritdrich 11. zq8 Petrus of Bruis (Bruys}, heretic rvo, **133**
Pcu-us of Ungala, johannir¢t tp8
Percus of Verona, Inquisitor zz6
Pcu-us baldes, Gziixder of the 6aldensians 1§1
. Peter, holy Apoitel ,top, z q, t69
Pfaff, V. y
Philip 11 Augustus, King of France 1$, A8, *s. * °4 . **148, 154, 199, 201, 204, 207, 211, 217, 420**
Philip IV, -the Shíine-, of Frankteich 38d, j86, 395 397' **399, 422, 451, 456f., 461, 463,**

Philip V, the Tall, King of Frankzeich and N8va^* 4*3' 474
Philip VI, of Valoia, French **König 499**
Philip of Swabia, German king, youngest son of Frederick Barbarnssa, brother of Henry VI 4°- 46 j3 . §8, 6o-63, 66 f., 7 7i - *79- 9 S- 4-* °75- °*°- **361**
Philip, brother of Emperor Heinrick Vf. *z$* j 8
Philipp, Enbisrhof of Cologne rq
Piem dc Castelnau, itinerant preacher and saint i 37 *4*. *47 Pierre de Taraataise, birth name from Pope Innozcnz V 3 y¢
Pierre des Vaux-de-Ccmay, Cistrria-Ser r yO, 1 j8, IfiO, 163

Pietro del Morrooe, hermit and miracle worker later Pope Celestine 377
Pinay, M. qżt
PiSaito, Nicola 38 i
Pius II., Papst 144
Pius IV., Papst 142
Pius XI, Pope z6q
Pootîus von Blants, Inquisitor a76
Pouget, Bertrand du, Cardinal Leønt and Neífe Pope John XXI1. 86, 48q f.
Powell, J. M. z ry
Pro<ids, Giovanni da, AI2t 3$
Przemysl lI, king of Great Poland 37z

Rahn, Ottn no, i i, i 5z, i Jq Raimonde Barbaira, poor woman -75 **Rainiund de** Falguario, Dominican-inquisitor øyg
Rairnund VÏ., Count of Toulouse, Vertet of the King of Ftankrcich, brother-in-law of the King of England **139, 147 f., 150, 157, 213, 284, 308**
Raiinundus of Miromonte, Bishop r q
Rainald von UrSlîngen, Deputy Emperor Fricdrich Iɬ, Herxog of Spoleto aj8
Roinalducci, Pietro tpy
Rainer von Fossanova, päpsrlither Ltgat - 37
Rsiner of Viterbn, Cardinal i8ş, iqq
Raînerii, Johann Pierreleone, Roman senator 5º
Raspt, Heinrich, counter-king to Otto IV. **71, 290 f., 445**
Raymond, Lord of Termés i yy
Recceswinrh, Spanish king qo8
Reinmar von Hagtnau zi q Reîsinger, R. 6o
Rckkar'd,epanixherKing 4 **
Repgow, Eke von, author of the -Sachsenspiegr1s- d3q
Richard I. Łöwenherz, King of Erigland z6, **zo, z3-z , z8, Jq** t., **64, 424**
ÏŁì1ard of Acerra, brother-in-law of Tankred jd f.
Richard voa Caserta, GUI *97th ROI
Richard of Cornwall, King Frederick II's son-in-law and German king Z§O 3 2'j j Ł/ f. 3 44- 3 I 1 36 i
Richard von Theate, Count, John Fricdrichs II. xqy
Riddes Bernhard 8o, z z z
RiÌcy-Smich 7
Robɇrt IT., the Frornmc, French **König 118**
Robrrt 11th, Duke of Burgundy jA3
Robrn of Artois, brother of Charles of Anjou 3 i i
Robert of Somercote, English cardinal x8 r
Robert, Doininican Inquisitor zşq
Robert, King of Neape 4 f*. 4z'. 4 4- 487. ą94
Robertos of Salisbury 47
Roderich, Coten King 4
Rodrigo Jimćnez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo io9
Roffred, brother of Boniface VIII. 38o
Roffrid of Monte Cassino, abbot of
Roger de Lauria, Aragonese Admiral 36o
Roger II of Albi, Bèziers and Carca$sDnne, VÌ- 34
Roger II, King of Sicily lKing fromAlllkø) i ,i6,z -z7,)q88, **301**
Rogcq Pierre, civil name of Pope Clement Vl, too
Grate, Hsas i 9
łtotłt, C. 4 4

Royas, lequisitor t68
Rudolf the Younger, marriage of Rudolf 1st of Habsburg 36d
Rudolf I dtr Stammler, Count Palatine of the Rhine4 8a f.
Rudolf 1st Count of Habsburg, German König 340, 347, 351, 354 f., 357, 33 3- 3 5 - 37*- q8 i
Rudolf II, son of Rudolf I of Habsburg 363
ßUdoff Hf. voti BÖiifnen, 5ohfi Albrcchts I. 37 3 f.
Rudolf, Saint qzq
Rudolf, Count Palatine of Thuringia y7 Rudolf, son of Adotf of Nass0° 37

Saccani, Ranieri, Dominican Crinquisi tor 126
Saladin from the Ayyubi dynasty the 3 r, zz z-Z¥3
Salavert, Wilhclm, Härrtiker z63
5alimbrne of Parma, chronicler iq8, z t , tq3 f., yoi, 3oj, 3o8, l ro, 3 ^ i' 3*7
Sancha, daughter of King Alfonso of Aragon, betrothed to Frederick II. zot
Sancho Il, King of Poriugal 3i6
5ancho VII of Navarre (the Strong), span*who Köntg ro8
Sarrasin, Johznn j i i f.
Savelli, Ccncio, later Pope Honorius lÏl. z S 44
Schmidt, Tilmaflfl 3 4
Schmiedtg F. 3xo
Scholz, Klaus i 8y
Schubart, W. qq
Schuitep Hermann 3sq
Schwaiges C. 474
bcßtra, Claricia, MuFFet of Fapsr Innocent III.
Scidlmayeq M. 3 q, q8q
Seltmann, I. i , z
Sepptlt, Franz Xaver 88, zt6 f., zz8, *35' *37- ^47' *77' 3 - 3*8' 3 4' 399' 474 *499*
AeptiMus SeverUS, rÖffiiSCher KsiSer z8 i
Scrgius III, pope and murderer of two popesc 3 i
Sibilia, wife of Tankred, King of Sicily i8 SiegfiH
"EmbiscAof 'mvginz zot, zo8
Siegfried III of Eppstein, Archbishop of Maint and Reichsve¢weser z8y
Siegfried von @estetburg, Archbishop from /Ö{TI 3 66
Siegfried, Count of Anhalt j6z
Silvester de'Gat¢i, Ghibcllin^ 495
Simeon, Holy4*^
Simon dc &ic (Brian), Kerdinalleg "t 335
Simon {V, von Montfort, Count 8$, i , *i 5 f-i* 8- i 6 i, i6¡, zi 3
Simon of Paderbom, Bishop zqz
Simon of St. Quentin, Dorrtiniksner 318
Simon of Trento, supposed Märtyrer 419
Sindona, Mafia banki¢r 38a
Sisrbur, Spanish king 4oy/.
Sisenand, Spanish king los Spini, banker jpz
Stecheq Bishop of Innsbruck q iq
Stefan 1st, Duke of Lower Bavaria4 *
Stehkimpeq H. o, 6t
Stephen of Tournay, Bishop i 3
Stephen, Abbot of the Chase-Oieu Convent xz
Scephan, shepherd boy from the Vendö- m4is i i 3
Suger of Saint-Oenis, Abbot 9^. 419
Suneson, Anders, nephew of the Archbishopx Absalon 1st from Lund 7$

Suxesan, Pcdeç Nelle des Erxbischpfs Absalon I of Lun d75 Swinthilas, **Spanish KÖniB** 4

Tarichelm {TanchelinusJ, Cathar iro
Tartkred **of LeCce,** King of Sicily i 6, i q f., zy' ^ ' 17 Tariq, &rbcrgenerel 4 -
Tebaldo de Brusatis, Lord of the City of Brescia
Thaddaeus son Suessa, Gro8hofrithier *'**' *94 J 7
Tlicobald of Champagne, Count 89
Theoderic (Dietrich) of Trtyden, Cisienicnst ^ 7 i . ^7
Theodor I Laskaris, Byzantine emperor red
Thomas von Acera, Count z3q
Thomas yuri Aquino, Konradinc Kàmmerer for the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Sicily -S*. fi44' 4**. 443
Thoffl8S Y£U1 MOrtmOuLh, englisuheF Bcnedikriner tr8
Thomas, Heinx '7*
Thomasin von Zcrklare, author and Cleric t i p
WO¢tt§SOIt, E.A. 4 5
Tibatd Francis, Podtstà of Parrria ^97
Ticpolo, Pintixi, Podestä from h4ai[and **245**
Tocche, Theodoq Historian and biographer of Henry VI 37
Tomaso of Aversa, Inquisitor z6ç
Trcncavel, Raimund-Rogeç Vîzegraf **150–153**
Tnishard von Kestenbcrg, Ministerialer of Emperor Henry VI. zr
Tuscus, Thomas, Franciscan£ 854

Ubald of Ravenna, Archbishop moi
Ubaldini, Octavian, Cardinal 3oo,
Ulrich von Etzrnbach i7* 3*7. 337

Ulrich, Count of Pfirt t <+< <1 4
Urban II, Paper ää, °7' ^ +4
Urban IV, PübSt z67' 33 ^ 334- 3f <' 35 , 3yy
Ursus, nephew of **Pope** Nicholas III. 357

Venerabilis, Petrus, Heiligcr and Abi from ClURÿ 4*®
Vcyl "ti, }ohann, **Franciscan inquisitor** *44
Viœlin, Slav Apostle ^73
Yillani, Giovanni $ y y- 375- J9 ' 493
Yincke, J. zo8
Violente, Queen of CasriÏia 4
Viscontî, TedaÏd, Archdeacon of Liège 149
O1tR1ï4- 30

alcheç Canon in Cambrai zx
Waldemar I, -the Great-, Danish King i yo
Haldemar II, Danish king +7§. a 8 y, zt r
Haldemar of Br¢men, Archbishop 7f' ^9<
Haldemar von Scbleswig, Bishop; Son of King Kn\id V, xx almm, Craf of Luxembu@ d$ 3
Walter {Gautier) of Brienne, Count t "age of Pagiiara, Bishop of Troia j 6 f.
Walter von Palermo, Erzbischof 16
Walteç Hubrrr, Bishop of Salisbury and Canterbury z4' *+
9'/alEher von der Yogolweide 4S- **- 66, Bât, zo6, z i
y @ancnback, W.
cr page, B. 58
'\r/endehorst, A. y6

Wenceslaus lI, King of Bohemia, son and successor of Otokar **II 363,** 32z f.
Wenceslas III, son of King Prttmysl II. 37^ -
Wtrner from Oberwesel (Bacharach) **419**
Werner, E. 129
Wetzer, H. J. 458
6idukind **of Corvey,** Abc y8 @kbold, Archbishop -on Cologne jzs syllables of Nogcnt, French Abr 4+ 7
William I, King of Sicily i3, i 6
William 11, King of Sicily i j, i y, **24**
Wilhclm 11th of Holland, Count and Counter-King of Conred lV. tqi f., 3°°' 3^*' 3*7
Ulhetm III, heir to the throne of Sicily zy, z8
William of Norwtandie, Conqueror of Engtand 4^4
William of Fenasse zy
Wilhelm von Godin, Cardinal Legate of Pspst Johsnn¢s **XXII-** 4**
William of Jülich, Count 35 i
Wilhtlm of Modena, papal &* +77
William of Ockham, heretic 8o, 499
Wilhtlm of Raven na, Archbishop **53**
@ilhelm of Saint-Amouz. Wcltgeisrli- l3O
William of Norwieh, crossed tanner's apprentice
Winkelmann, Eduard Zo, äo, 28
6ladislaw 1st, King of **Bökmen** (Vel:ter Barb9roscss) j z f.
Wojtecki, Dictee Chronin +*7
Wratislaw of Pomerania, Polish Henog i8
Wulfing, Bishop of Bomberg s4*

Zifnberlin, JDhannes, guest from Andlau 43z
Zöllnec, Walter *3t, $,* inz

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Karl Heinrich leopold Deschner was born in Bamberg on May xj, iqad. His father, Katl, a fetus and fish czrq katliotiicb, came from the poorest of circumstances. His mother **Margzreta** Karnline, née Rciichböck, Protestant, grew up in her father's castles in Franconia and Lower Bavaria. She later converted to Catholicism.

Karlheinz Deschneq the eldest of three children, went to the Crundschule in Tras- senfuri lSt¢igerwald) from i9zq to i q33, dunach in FranziskanerseminarDtriel- bach am Main, where tr first exiem with the Farnilie scincs Tant- und Confirmpaten, des Geistlicheri Rais Lmpald Baumann, w'ohntc, dunn im Frsnzisksnerklo8ter. V-- ^934 bÎs$4• he attended the Alte, Neur and Deutsches Gymnasium in Bamberg as an inter- national student with Carmelite and EngJischtri Früulein. lm <-> 94* he passed the school-leaving examination. Like his entire class, he immediately volunteered for the war and - wounded several times - was a soldier until the capitulation, then a paratrooper.

Initially a lecturer at the University of Munich, Deschner studied law, theology, philosophy and psychoÏogy at the Pti]osophisch-Thenlogischcn Hech- schuie in Bambczg.

]eSUngen. JOB +947 '- s 5i studied new German literature, philosophy and history at the University of Wütiburg and received his doctorate with a thesis **on °Lmaus LyriL ak** Ausdruck metsphysi6cher Verzweiflung- xum Dr. phil. His marriage to Elfi Tuch in the same year resulted in three children, Kaja l i q i), gätbcl t iq 8) and Thomas i9y9 to 1 9 4)-

From i qxp to iqö4 Deschner lived on a former hunting estate of the Wury6urge′ Fütstbiichöfe in Trenendorf (Steigerwald), then two years in a friend's country house in FiSchbrunn lHersbrucker Schweiz). Since then he has lived in Haßfurr sm Main.

Karlheinz Deschnvr has published novels, literary criticism, essays and aphorisms, above all on works critical of religion and the church. Over the years, Deschner has fascinated and provoked his audience at over two thousand lecture events.

y yyz sr8xd er in Nîimberg -wegen KircÎtenb¢scÎtimpfung- var Gcricht.

Since Iq7o 0Fbeitct DeSCltncr on 8eilltr **gfoßangclegteft** -KfiMiflßlgt8chiChtt **der** Christennims-. Since there are no posts, official positions, research grants, honorary fellowships or scholarships for such restless and unsettling spirits as him, he was only able to carry out his research work and present his work thanks to the help of a few friends and colleagues, and above all thanks to the support of his great friend and mentor Alfred Schwarz, who celebrated the publication of the first volume in September iq8fi, but did not live to see the second volume in May, since then the German entrepreneur Herbert Steffm.

In the summer semester xq8y, Deschner took on a teaching assignment at the University of Münster on the subject of the criminal history of Christianity.

For his commitment to enlightenment and for his literary work, Katl- heinz Deschner was awarded the Amo Schmidt Prize in q88 - after Koeppen, WnllschIiige¢ Rühmkorf - the Alternative Büchner Prize in June iqq3 - after Walter Jens, Dierer Hildtbrandt, Gerhard Zwerenz, Robert Jungk - and in Ju]i i qqj - after Sakharov and Dubtek - the first German to receive the International Humanist Award. In September zooi Deschner received the Erwin Fischer Prize of the International Association of Nondenominationalists and Atheists, and in November zooi the Ludwig Ftuerbach Prize of the Association for Freedom of Thought, Augsburg.

The 7° '^""igflri video film by Ricardo Hinz and Jacques Tilly titled -Oie hafierfüllten Augtn des Htrm Deschner -deals - pro and contra - with the crririinal history of Christianity. To bcziehcn about: Humanistic behavior
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